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**THE
CHINESE IN BRITISH GUIANA**

BY
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DEDICATED
AS A TOKEN OF ESTEEM
TO THE
CHINESE IN BRITISH GUIANA.

AFTER fourteen years spent in the service of the Hongkong Government, during which opportunities were afforded me for extensive travels in China, I was transferred in the autumn of 1913 to the Colony of British Guiana, where, as one of the latest immigrants to those shores from Cathay, the history of the Chinese colonists at once engaged my attention. The results of my inquiry into this subject were published in 1914 by the *Daily Argosy* in articles which are now reprinted, with slight alterations and additions, in book-form : and I am glad to have this opportunity of thanking all those who have assisted me in my task, particularly the officers of the Government Secretariat, of the Immigration Department and of the Registrar-General's Department. For the material of Chapter XIV, I am indebted to Mr. F. O. Low, one of those whose career it describes. For the Chinese type used I have to thank the Delegates of the Clarendon Press at Oxford : for help in preparing the statistical tables I am grateful to Mr. B. D. McDougall and for drawing the five maps to Mr. W. H. McTurk.

C. C.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER

Events leading up to Chinese immigration into British Guiana : 1811-1850.

Report of Committee of House of Commons in 1811—Abolition of slavery in 1834—African immigration a failure—Reports of Guiana proprietor in 1843 as to Chinese labour—Proposal to amend Imperial Order-in-Council—Views of Colonial Office—Lord Stanley approves introduction of Chinese labour—Ordinance No. 2 of 1844—Anticipations not realised—Combined railway and colonization scheme of 1850—Bounty on Chinese immigration proclaimed—Summary of Chinese immigration actually effected.

CHAPTER II.

Summary of Chinese History between 1840 and 1879.

First War between England and China, 1840-1843—Events between 1843-1856—Second War between England and China, 1856-1860—T'ai-p'ing Rebellion; 1850-1864—Mahommedan Rebellion 1867-1873—Tientsin Riot : 1870—Audience of Foreign Ministers at Peking : 1873—Murder of Mr. Margary : 1874—Chefoo Convention : 1876.

CHAPTER III.

First Experiment in Chinese Immigration : 1850-1854.

Mr. White's first mission to China : 1850-1852—Mr. White's report—Decision of the Court of Policy—Mr. G. Booker's venture with the Lord Elgin—Offer of bounty renewed—Messrs. Dent & Co. decline to act as Agents—Mr. White's second mission to China : 1852-53—Instructions given Mr. White by the Emigration Commissioners—Voyage of the Lord Elgin and her arrival in Georgetown—Voyage of the Glentanner—Voyage of the Samuel Boddington—Reduction and withdrawal of bounty on Chinese immi-

grants—Failure of Mr. White to obtain vessels—Mr. White's recommendations—Return of Mr. White and conference in London—Chinese Passenger Act (18 and 19 Vic, c. 104)—Mr. White's third mission to China : 1853-1854—Financial exigencies put a stop to further introduction of Chinese immigrants—Mr. White's employment terminated—Allocation of Chinese so far arrived in British Guiana—Favourable reports of Managers of Plantations—Surprisingly good result of this first experiment.

CHAPTER IV.

Events leading up to Second Experiment in Chinese Immigration to British Guiana : 1854-1858.

Desire of Planters to revive Chinese immigration—Resolutions of Public Meeting at Georgetown—Deputation of West India proprietors waits on Mr. Labouchere—Bounty again proclaimed and cancelled—Resolution of Combined Court—Views of Governor Wodehouse—Mr. Labouchere negatives proposal—Second War between England and China—Further resolutions of Combined Court—Mr. Labouchere sympathetic—Difficulty due to legal definition of immigrant—Colonial Office assents to renewal of Chinese Immigration—Appointment of Mr. J. G. Austin as Agent in China—Ordinance No. 17 of 1858—Emigration Officers appointed at Hongkong and at the Chinese Treaty Ports.

CHAPTER V.

The Experiment of the West India Committee : 1858-1859.

Mr. Gerard sent as Agent of West India Committee to China—Mr. Austin sent as Agent of Government of British Guiana to China—Irregularities in despatch of the Royal George—Voyage of the Royal George—Suggested improvements—Contracts of immigrants by the Royal George Regularised—Despatch of the General Wyndham—Voyage of the General Wyndham—Distribution of the immigrants—Mr. Gerard's method of recruiting—Barracoons at Macao—Mr. Gerard recalled.

CHAPTER VI.

Emigration Scheme Organised by Mr. J. G. Austin : 1859-1862.

Ordinance No. 1 of 1859—Desire of Combined Court to resume Chinese Immigration—Mr. Austin explains his project to the Rev. Mr. Lobscheid—Mr. Lobscheid's Views—Mr. Austin's report to the Colonial Office—Difficulties of recruiting and importance of missionary influence—Proclamations issued : (a) by the Canton Magistrates ; (b) by Allied Commanders ; (c) by Governor-General Po Kuei—Help given by Mr. Parkes—Confirmatory Proclamation by Governor-General Lao Ch'ung Kuang—Scheme prepared by Mr. Austin—Mr. Austin suggests unindentured immigration—Resolutions of Combined Court—Criticism by Emigration Commissioners—The Secretary of State approves, but draws attention to five points—Decision of the Court of Policy on these points—Observations of Governor Wodehouse—Arrangements for financing the Chinese emigration—Mr. Austin opens depôts at Hongkong and Canton—First mention of Rear-Admiral Hope—Mr. Austin's first season (1859-60) : voyage of the Whirlwind—Statistics of the season 1859-60—Ordinance No. 1 of 1860—Reasons for amending Ordinance No. 1 of 1860—Ordinance No. 19 of 1860—Ordinance No. 5 of 1860—Mr. Austin's second season 1860-61—Visit of Rev. W. Lobscheid to British Guiana—Mr. Lobscheid's suggestions—Opening of subsidiary agencies in China—Effect of Treaty of Tientsin and Convention of Peking—Mr. Maxwell appointed Agent at Hangtsai—Mr. Austin's negotiations at Peking—Increased demand for Chinese emigrants—Floating depôt at Hongkong—Emigration depôt at Swatow—Depôt at Tat-hao-p'u—Depôt at Amoy—Mr. Austin's third season 1861-2—Voyages of immigrant ships during the season 1861-2—1. Agra—2. Earl of Windsor—3. Red Riding Hood—4. Persia—5. Sir George Seymour—6. Lady Elma Bruce—7. Genghis Khan—Summary of Mr. Austin's work during his three seasons—Expenditure in China—Entire cost per caput of the immigration—Dangers to the Agents in China—Appreciation of Mr. Austin's work.

CHAPTER VII.

The Beginning of the End : 1862-3.

History of 1854 repeated in 1862—Governor Hincks opposed to Chinese immigration.—Doubts expediency of ordering any Chinese immigrants for next season—Proposal that Chinese Agency should be closed—Planters reluctant to abandon Chinese immigration—Revision made for 905 Chinese for season 1862-3—Adverse criticism of Mr. Austin—Decision to reduce emigration establishments in China—

Mr. Austin's reply to his critics—Class of emigrants recruited

Reduction of emigration establishments in China—Difficulty of financing emigration overcome—Ordinance No. 17 of 1862—Discussion as to port in China most suitable for emigration—Views of Governor Hincks—Advice of the Emigration—Commissioners—Chartering ships and collecting emigrants not to be placed in different hands—Duke of Newcastle authorises continuance of emigration in Mr. Sampson's hands—Despatch of the Ganges—Expenditure during season 1862-3—Decision to discontinue and commute allotments—Distinction drawn between allotments and advances—Proposed retention of Agency at Canton—Property at Swatow sold—Property at Amoy temporarily retained—Season of 1863 Despatch of the Zouave—Expenses to end of 1863.

CHAPTER VIII.

A Brief Revival : 1864-6.

Arrangements in China hampered by fluctuating demand from British Guiana—Decision that British Guiana and Trinidad jointly should take 2,000 Chinese emigrants a year—Possible economies discussed; (i) In shipping the emigrants from China to the West Indies—Shipping obtained at £14 per statute adult—(ii) In collecting the emigrants in China—Mr. Sampson's explanation of items of expenditure—Total cost of Chinese emigration estimated by Mr. Sampson at £23. 4s. per statute adult—Operations of season 1864-5—Relative mortality in large and small ships—Franco-Cuban competition in season 1865-6—Mutinies in emigrant ships—Case of the *Pride of the Ganges*—Case of the *Jeddo*—Operations of the season 1865-6—Difficulty of obtaining female emigrants—Agency at Amoy closed—Expenditure during season 1865-6.

CHAPTER IX.

Intervention of the Chinese Government :
1865-1873.

Non-return of Chinese emigrants to China—Governor-General at Canton makes representations to British Consul—Revival of emigration to Cuba—Frequent mutinies in emigrant ships—Methods of crimps—Head money—Competition of rival emigration agencies—Contrast in cost of Chinese emigration to Cuba and to British Guiana—Tsong-li Yamên presents draft Emigration Regulations to British and French Ministers at Peking—Points emphasized by the Yamên—Emigration Convention of 1866 signed at Peking—Cessation of Chinese emigration—Convention criticised by Emigration Commissioners—Decision of Court of Policy—French and British Governments decide not to ratify the Convention—Redraft of Convention agreed upon by British, French and Spanish Ministers—Position of the Ministers at Peking summarized—Contents of the redraft—Redraft rejected by Chinese Government—Interview of British Consul at Canton with Governor-General—Views of Mr. Robertson—Inaction of Sir R. Alcock—Attitude of Tsung-li Yamên—Emigration from Hongkong not possible—Mr. Murdoch's suggestions—Negotiations in Peking delayed—Mr. Wade's proposal—Trinidad gives up Chinese emigration—Views held in British Guiana—Mr. Wade's discussions with Tsung-li Yamên—Mr. Wade's Report—Emigration Agency for Cuba opened at Canton—Proposal that British Guiana should offer the same terms as Cuba—Negotiations with Governor-General at Canton—Chinese emigration to British Guiana resumed.

CHAPTER X.

End of Contract Emigration from China to
British Guiana : 1874-5.

Mr. Sampson re-opens his depôt at Canton—Fourteen Chinese repatriated in 1870 : and fifteen in 1871—Assistance of returned emigrants in recruiting—Despatch of the *Corona*—Scarcity of suitable emigrants—Result of special contracts used for emigrants in the *Corona*—Chinese emigration again suspended—Reasons for suspending Chinese emigration—Mr. Sampson's services dispensed with—Lord Carnarvon suggests entire abandonment of Chinese immigration—Decision of Court of Policy—History of 1854 and

1862 repeated in 1874—Mr. Firth sent to China to report on prospects of renewing Chinese emigration—Analysis of Mr. Sampson's accounts—Drawbacks to Canton—Importance of rapid, regular and cheap communication by steamer—Agency property at Canton sold.

CHAPTER XI.

Experiment in free Emigration from China to British Guiana : 1875-9.

Mr. Firth visits Swatow—Mr. Firth visits Amoy—Mr. Firth's interview with Mr. Wade at Shanghai—Impracticable to obtain emigrants at Shanghai or Ning-po—Emigration from Hongkong—Mr. Firth visits Singapore and Penang—Mr. Firth recommends Amoy and Swatow as recruiting centres—Possibility of independent voluntary emigration from China to British Guiana—Mr. Firth's report discussed by Court of Policy—Governor Longden's views—Views of Sir B. Robertson—Resolutions of Court of Policy—Governor Longden recommends introduction of two shiploads of unindentured Chinese—Lord Carnarvon desires further information—Circular addressed to sugar estates—Number of Chinese labourers required—Terms offered by the Planters—How cost of free emigration should be defrayed—Manner in which Planters' share of cost should be raised—Loan suggested—Action of West India Committee—Lord Carnarvon gives no encouragement—Combined Court offers bounty on Chinese immigrants—West India Committee again approach Lord Carnarvon—Further replies to circular issued by Government of British Guiana—Lord Carnarvon's consent—Arrangements made by the Planters—Resolution of Court of Policy—Comparison of bounties offered in 1852 and 1878—Arrangements for distribution of Chinese immigrants—Despatch of the Dartmouth from Hongkong—Arrival and allotment of the Chinese immigrants—Result of the experiment—End of Chinese Immigration.

CHAPTER XII.

The Hopetown Settlement : 1865-1914.

Life of Wu Tai-kam—He arrives in Georgetown—Proposes to form Chinese Settlement on Kamuni Creek—Resolutions of Court of Policy—Settlement founded—Sir J. Hope

visits the Settlement, which is named after him—Hopetown prospers—Plans of Wu Tai-kam—Views of Governor Hincks—Opinion of Emigration Commissioners—Report of Mr. Sampson—Wu Tai-kam appointed missionary—He is disgraced and absconds—Report of Commissioners in December, 1870—Census of 1871—Report of Inspector of Villages in May, 1874—Census of 1891—Inflow of non-Chinese settlers—Inquiry into the titles to Hopetown Settlement—Government resumes possession of the land—Free grant made of 915 acres to Chinese settlers—Defective drainage of Settlement—Visit of Mr. Fowler to Settlement—Population of Settlement in 1901—Proposal to empolder the Settlement—Visit of Mr. Ashmore to Settlement—Construction of dam—Settlement of non-Chinese squatters permitted beyond empoldered area—Order-in-Council declaring Hopetown to be a Country Sanitary District made in 1902—And cancelled in 1906—Census of 1911—Mr. V. Roth's visit, 1914—Visit of Government Secretary, 1914—Description of Kamuni Creek—Description of Hopetown—Little hope for future success of Settlement.

CHAPTER XIII.

Vital Statistics of the Chinese Immigrant Population.

A disastrous decline—Statistical data—Method by which Table II. has been compiled—Original distribution of Chinese immigrants—Little difference in healthiness of Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo—Half the Chinese population in 1879 was no longer on the plantations—Present distribution of the Chinese population—Examination of Table II.—Cause of decrease in Chinese Community—Longevity of Chinese

Fertility of Chinese women—Chinese emigration from British Guiana—Grounds for believing that decrease in Chinese community has been arrested.

CHAPTER XIV.

An Account of Some Notable Chinese Families in Demerara.

Hq-a-Shoo—Ewing Chow—The Lau family—M. U. Hing—Ho-a-Hing—Evan Wong.

CHAPTER XV.

CONCLUSIONS.

The population of China—Economic pressure caused by rapidly increasing population in China—Necessity of emigration from China—Provinces of Kuang-tung and Fu-kien a suitable recruiting ground for British Guiana—Reasons which induce Canada, Australia and South Africa to exclude Chinese are inapplicable to British Guiana—Causes of failure of Chinese immigration as a colonization scheme in British Guiana : (a) insufficient number of females : (b) fluctuation in annual indents : (c) lack of communication between China and British Guiana—Chinese community in British Guiana mainly Christian—Unique opportunity in 1861 lost—Changes during the last 35 years : (a) steamers instead of sailing ships ; opening of Panama Canal : (b) health conditions in British Guiana improved : (c) growth of new industries in British Guiana : (d) improved relations between China and the West : (e) growth of Hongkong : (f) Chinese Community already established in British Guiana—Views of Messrs. White, Lobscheid, Austin, Sampson, and Firth—Views of Sir T. Wade and Sir B. Robertson—Views of West India Association of Glasgow—Remarkable consensus of opinion—Facility of transit essential.

APPENDICES.

- A. Form of clearing certificate and nominal list of passengers prescribed by Section 8 of Ordinance No. 20 of 1851.
- B. Form of contract used by Mr. J. G. Austin.
- C. Emigration regulations made by the Governor-General of the Liang Kuang provinces in November, 1861.
- D. Emigration Convention signed at Peking on 5th March, 1866.
- E. Redraft of Emigration Convention presented to Tsung-li Yamèn on 1st April, 1868, by the British, French and Spanish Ministers at Peking.

- F. Form of contract adapted from Cuban model and approved by Governor-General of Canton.
 - G. Specimen of Dutch land-grant.
-

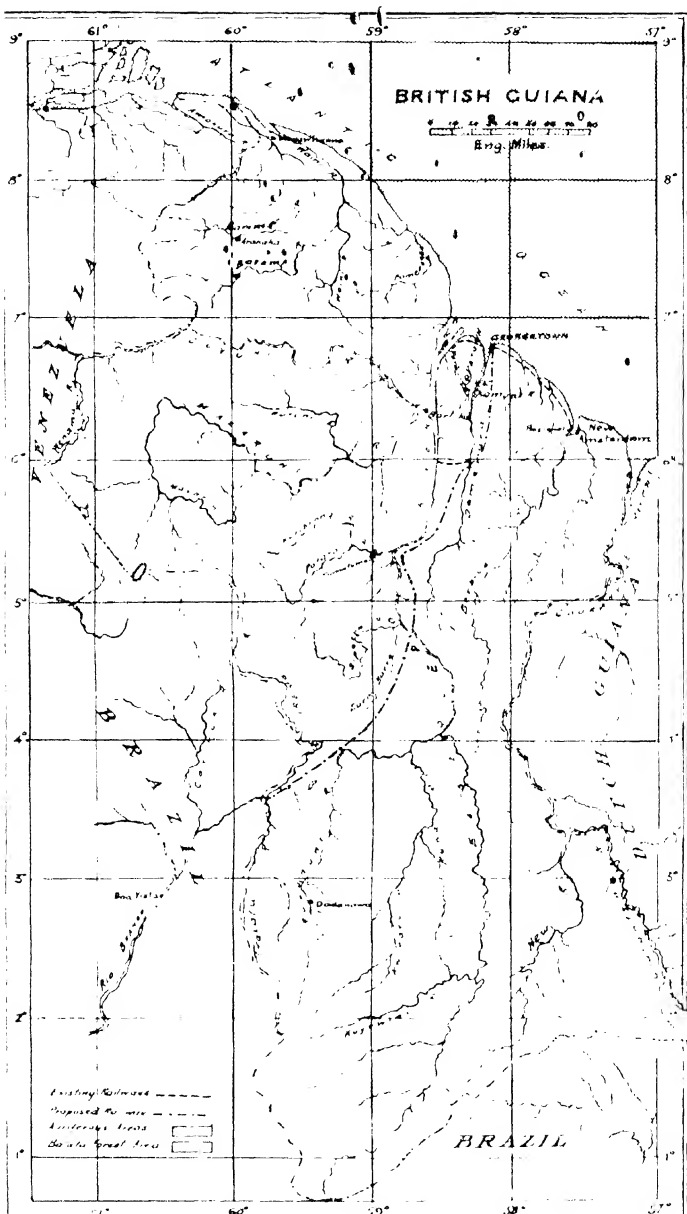
TABLES.

- I. Statistics of Chinese immigration into British Guiana.
- II. Vital statistics of Chinese population in British Guiana : 1853-1913.
- III. Distribution of Chinese immigrants on arrival in British Guiana.
- IV. Grouping into nine districts of the plantations on which Chinese labour was employed.
- V. Distribution of Chinese immigrants in the nine districts.
- VI. Recapitulation of arrivals and distribution of Chinese immigrants.

MAPS.

- Map of British Guiana.
- Map of recruiting centres in Kuang-tung.
- Map of Hopetown Settlement.
- Map of ocean routes between Hongkong Georgetown.





THE CHINESE IN BRITISH GUIANA.

CHAPTER I.

EVENTS LEADING UP TO CHINESE IMMIGRATION INTO BRITISH GUIANA, 1811-1850.

The last Census of British Guiana, taken in 1911, showed that there was then resident in the Colony a Chinese community numbering 2,622 souls, of whom 1,481 were males and 1,141 females. It is my object in these pages to trace the origin of this community; to narrate the circumstances in which the first Chinese men and women came to Demerara; to describe the varying success of the immigration schemes under which they were introduced; to explain how it comes that, although 15,720 Chinese immigrants landed at Georgetown, only some 16% of that number inhabit the Colony to-day; and finally, as a careful study of past history often shows us the problems of the present time in a clearer and truer light, to invite attention to such conclusions as may be drawn from the experience hitherto gained.

**Report of
Committee
of House of
Commons
in 18'1.**

The first hint that British Guiana should look to China for a supply of free labour is, so far as I know, to be found in the report dated 12th June, 1811, of a Committee of the House of Commons "appointed to consider "of the practicability and expediency of supplying "our West Indian Colonies with free labourers "from the East." This Committee reported :—

"(1) that there prevails amongst the male "population of China a great disposition to "emigrate; but that they almost universally "emigrate with the intention of returning to their "own country, and that a considerable number do "actually return";

"(2) that the Chinese Emigrants have uniform- "ly conducted themselves with the greatest "propriety and order, and have been peculiarly "instrumental in promoting the improvement of "those countries to which they have emigrated;

"(3) that such emigration, however, is contrary "to the laws of China; although its existence to a "great extent seems to imply that those laws are "not strictly enforced."

But, apart from any objection due to an obsolescent Chinese statute, and in spite of an allusion to the considerable difficulty of procuring Chinese women to accompany the male emigrants, the Committee saw no reason to suppose that the Chinese might not be inclined to extend their emigrations to the West Indies, either directly from China or from other countries where they had already established themselves. On the contrary, the Committee stated itself to be fully impressed with the important advantages which might, under proper arrangements, be expected to result to the

West Indies "from the introduction of a class of
 "free people so distinguished by their orderly and
 "industrious habits."

**Abolition
 of Slavery
 in 1834.** This suggestion, made in 1811, was
 not acted upon in British Guiana for
 many years, and was entirely ignored
 until the abolition of slavery in 1834.

On the 11th February, 1834, the Court of Policy
 passed an "Ordinance for the classification and
 "registration of Slaves to become, and be,
 "apprenticed labourers." The dislocation of
 labour conditions in British Guiana consequent on
 this law led in the first instance to a vigorous
 attempt by private employers of labour to procure
 immigrants without the aid of the State.

**African
 Immigration
 a
 Failure.** The first idea was to gather up and
 import surplus population from the
 West Indian Colonies, especially
 liberated Africans from the Bahamas.

The employers did not, however,
 confine themselves to African blood, and in 1838
 the first shipload of East Indians was brought to
 Demerara by private enterprise. In the same
 year resolutions in favour of a general scheme of
 immigration were adopted in the Court of Policy ;
 but, although there seems to have been a con-
 sensus of opinion at this time that, if conducted
 on an extensive scale, the business ought not to be
 abandoned to individual effort, it was not until
 1843 that an Ordinance (No. 27 of that year) was
 passed providing for the expenses to be incurred
 by the Home Government in conducting the
 African immigration.

This African importation proved an economic
 failure. It was computed that 32 Africans, who
 arrived in 1843 in the first vessel chartered by the

Government, the *Arabian*, cost the Colony £52. 1s. 8d. per head and the numbers introduced in 1843, 1844 and 1845 amounted to no more than 2,128 in all, and proved insufficient to meet the growing necessities of the plantations. It became necessary to look further afield : and three Ordinances were passed in 1844, by the first of which (No. 2 of 1844) provision was made for Chinese immigration, while the second (No. 12 of 1844) extended the provisions of the Ordinance of 1843 to Asiatic emigration in general, and the third (No. 13 of 1844) opened a special credit of £75,000 to defray the expenses of importing 5,000 labourers from India.

**Reports
of Guiana
Proprietor
in 1843
as to
Chinese
Labour.**

It is the first of these three Ordinances which specially concerns us, and the steps which led to its being passed were these. In May, 1843, a Guiana proprietor, who had been visiting most of the British possessions in the East, particularly Singapore, Malacca and Penang, wrote to the West India Committee that he had been much impressed by the Chinese immigrants, of whom he found some 100,000 employed there as labourers. "At Prince of Wales, Isle Penang," he said, "there are 2,000 acres of land cultivated exclusively by them ; and during the heat of the day I have seen them cutting canes, digging canals, carrying canes, etc., and I can state, without hesitation going through all the work as well as the best picked men (Creoles) would do. The climate is much the same as in British Guiana. The men are strong and powerful, and from infancy accustomed to toil ; industrious and eager to acquire money. I have seen all classes of coolies, and the different tribes of Asia ; but

"nowhere have I seen a people who would suit us and our purposes better." • He added that Messrs. Barclay Brothers and Company and Messrs. Gignet and Company had obtained Chinese (natives of Amoy) for their Mauritius properties from Messrs. Brown and Company of Penang and Messrs. Spottiswoode and Connolly of Singapore : that about 1,000 Chinese had embarked for Mauritius : and that, in his opinion, Chinese might be landed in British Guiana at from £10 to £12 per head.

**Proposal
to Amend
Imperial
Order-in-
Council.**

The West India Committee took the matter up, but were met at the outset by the difficulty that an Order of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, made by and with the advice of Her Privy Council on the 7th September, 1838, for regulating within the Colonies of British Guiana, Trinidad, St. Lucia and Mauritius, respectively, the rights and duties of masters and servants, recited that no contract of service should be of any force or effect, within any of those Colonies, unless made within the limits and upon the land of the Colony in which such contract was to be performed, and that no written contract of service should be valid for more than one year from its date. Accordingly on the 24th July, 1843, Mr. Alexander Grant wrote on behalf of the Committee to Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, urging that, in view of "the well-known character of the Chinese people, the distance they would have to come and the consequent necessity of entering previously into definite contracts for their own assurance and satisfaction," there could be no propriety in applying the Order-in-Council to them ; and he further proposed that, as regards the West

India Colonies, a bounty should be granted upon the introduction of Chinese labourers, provided the special contracts they might have made did not exceed two years.

**Views of
Colonial
Office.**

Lord Stanley replied on the 4th September, 1843, that he would not refuse to grant, to a limited extent, the permission asked for to introduce Chinese labourers into the West India Colonies, especially if their places of embarkation were limited to British possessions not on the coast of China—a limitation which for political causes, explained in the sequel, was then necessary. "Their intelligence," he wrote, "their willingness to work for wages, and their frugal and industrious habits, as well as their capability of supporting the labour of sugar cultivation, combine to point them out as a valuable class of immigrants; while the very circumstance of their having found their way in search of employment by means of a passage, averaging three weeks, to Singapore and other adjacent settlements, would be a guarantee at once of their knowing the nature of the proposals made to them—a question so much disputed in the case of the East Indians—and probably of their ability to endure the effects of the voyage." The main objection applicable to this class of emigrants was, Lord Stanley thought, the fact of their being unaccompanied by women: but the consideration that it was a habit of Chinese labourers to leave their country in search of temporary employment induced him not to regard this objection as insuperable. The only mischief, therefore, against which it appeared to Lord Stanley essential to guard, was "that which was found to operate so prejudicially in the case of the East Indians,

“namely, the discovery on the part of the labourer
“after his arrival in the Colony that he might have
“obtained better terms for his labour than those
“on which he had contracted to give it : ” and, in
order to avoid this evil, Lord Stanley proposed
that a Chinese labourer, after his arrival in the
Colony, should be permitted to rescind his con-
tract, provided, however, that, if a labourer repu-
diated his contract within 2½ years after his
arrival, the person at whose expense such
labourer was introduced should be guarded
against consequent loss.

**Lord
Stanley
Approves
Intro-
duction of
Chinese
Labour.**

The details of this proposal were
discussed by the West India Com-
mittee with the Colonial Office and
the Colonial Land and Emigration
Commissioners ; and finally on the
27th October, 1843, Lord Stanley
addressed similar despatches to the
Governors of British Guiana, Trinidad and
Jamaica, authorizing them to propose legislation by
which any existing provision against contracts
made out of the Colony should be waived as to
Chinese labourers, provided that such contracts
were not for a longer term than five years' service
in the Colony, and that they were in other respects
conformable to the rules laid down by the Secre-
tary of State for the Colonies. Lord Stanley
further issued two licences, dated 3rd and 13th
November, 1843, to Messrs. Cavan Brothers and
Company to convey in all 650 Chinese labourers
“from the British settlements in the Straits of
“Malacca to be introduced into the Colony of
“British Guiana ” ; and one licence each to Mr.
G. Anderson, Mr. G. Labalmondiere, Mr. H.
Barkly and Messrs. Bosanquet and Naghton
authorizing the two former each to introduce 500,

and the two latter each to introduce 250, Chinese labourers into British Gujana. These licences bore dates between 4th November, 1843, and 1st January, 1844. Thus it was contemplated to introduce into British Guiana a total number of 2,150 Chinese immigrants.

Ordi-
nance No.
2 of 1844.

Meanwhile, as I have already stated, the Court of Policy considered and passed on the 31st January, 1844, a Bill entitled "An Ordinance to promote the introduction of Chinese labourers into British Guiana." This Ordinance, No. 2 of 1844, spoke in the preamble of "an anticipated immigration of Chinese labourers into this Colony," and enacted that contracts of service with labourers for any period not exceeding five years, upon the terms and conditions prescribed in British Settlements within the Straits of Malacca and elsewhere in British Possessions not on the coasts of China, should have full force and effect, and be of the same validity as if made within the limits and upon the land of British Guiana; that the amount of bounty payable upon the introduction into British Guiana of every Chinese immigrant should from time to time be declared by proclamation of the Governor; that a labourer, introduced into British Guiana under a contract of service entered into beyond the limits of the Colony should be entitled within six calendar months after his arrival in Demerara, on application to a Magistrate, to have his contract cancelled, in which case there should be paid to the importer of such labourer "the full amount of bounty which would become payable to such importer if such labourer had been introduced into the Colony without having entered into any contract of service;" that, if the contract was

cancelled after the labourer had been six months in the Colony, but before he had been $2\frac{1}{2}$ years in the service of the party with whom he had contracted to serve, then there should be payable to the importer or other person entitled under contract to the service of such labourer, a proportionate amount of the full bounty "commensurate" with the period of service unexpired, compared "with $2\frac{1}{2}$ years"; and finally, that no bounty should be paid on cancellation of any contract of service after $2\frac{1}{2}$ years of the period of service had expired.

Anticipa-
tions not
Realized.

The royal confirmation of this Ordinance was conveyed to Governor Sir Henry Light by Lord Stanley in a despatch dated 27th March, 1844.

But the anticipations concerning Chinese immigration were not realized for another decade. However, as the result of Ordinances No. 12 and No. 13 of 1844, to which I previously referred, there arrived during 1845 in Demerara 563 immigrants from Calcutta and 225 from Madras: while, in 1846, owing to a frightful famine in Madeira, the Portuguese immigration reached its maximum, nearly 6,000 arriving at once: and in the same year the quota of East Indians from Calcutta leapt up to 1,373 and from Madras to 2,455. This extreme inflation of the system resulted during the next few years in a mortality, estimated at 10% per annum, among the immigrants, during the process of acclimatization, and was shortly followed by the cessation between the years 1848 and 1851 of all immigration from India, owing to the collapse of the Colony's finances as a result of the Civil List disputes between the Government and the elective section of the Combined Court. The elective members resorted to the device of

withholding supplies as a means of coercing the Governor and the Colonial Office. They failed of their object, but did serious injury to the revenue of the Colony, the loss on abandoned import duties alone being \$705,426.

**Combined
Railway
and Colo-
nization
Scheme
of 1850.**

This dispute ended on the 4th February, 1850; and in the meantime Parliament had come to the rescue by passing on the 5th September, 1848, "an Act for guaranteeing the interest on such loans not exceeding £500,000 as might be raised by the British Colonies on the continent of South America, in the West Indies and the Mauritius, for certain purposes" (11 and 12 Victoria, cap. 130). Of this loan one half was apportioned to British Guiana, where the Colonial Government decided to spend £50,000 upon a railway and the balance of £200,000 in reviving immigration from the East. It is a curious coincidence that, as in 1914, so in 1850, British Guiana was endeavouring to arrange for a railway scheme, coupled with a colonization scheme, by means of a loan guaranteed by the Imperial Parliament. The revival of immigration from the East drew attention to the possibility of obtaining labour from China; and on the 8th July, 1850, the Court of Policy read a first and second time "a Bill for the encouragement of the introduction into this Colony of Chinese labourers." The bill in this form was, however, by leave withdrawn; and instead the Court of Policy passed on the 24th August, 1850, an "Ordinance for the encouragement of the introduction into this Colony of labourers in general" (No. 23 of 1850), which provided that the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Court of Policy, might

fix such rate of bounty as to him seemed just for indemnifying the person, at whose charge any agricultural labourers were introduced into the Colony, for the expenses of their maintenance and passage from the port of embarkation to British Guiana, thus making general the terms of Ordinance No. 2 of 1844; while, with respect to Chinese, it was specially provided by the fifth section that "all contracts made and entered into "out of this Colony, with any Chinese immigrant "for the performance of any labour or service in "agriculture within this Colony for any period not "exceeding the term of five years to be computed "from the day of the landing of such immigrant "in the Colony," should be valid and in force for the period therein mentioned.

**Bounty on
Chinese
Immigra-
tion Pro-
claimed.**

This Ordinance came into operation on the 1st October, 1850; and, at a meeting of the Court of Policy held on the preceding day, Governor Barkly pointed out the necessity of fixing the rates of bounty to be paid to immigrants introduced under the Ordinance. A committee, consisting of Mr. George Bagot (the High Sheriff), Mr. A. D. Vander Gon Netscher, Mr. Samuel Bean, and Mr. George Booker, was thereupon appointed "to "take the subject into consideration and to report "the rates of bounty deemed advisable." The Committee presented to the Court of Policy, at a meeting held on the 1st October, 1850, a report recommending a bounty of \$100 for each immigrant introduced into the Colony "from China and "the Chinese Islands," and the Court ordered that the report should be adopted. Accordingly on the 2nd October, 1850, Governor Barkly proclaimed this bounty.

**Summary
of Chinese
Immigra-
tion
Actually
Effected.**

We have now reached the eve of the realization of hopes, first mooted in 1811, that a supply of free labour for this Colony would be found in China. In point of fact the first Chinese immigrants arrived in Demerara during 1853. Then followed five years in which no immigrants came from China. Thereafter, during the eight years 1859 to 1866, there was an annual influx of Chinese labour. During the next seven years, 1867 to 1873, no immigrants came from China. In 1874 came one Chinese immigrant ship. Then followed another four years which brought no Chinese immigrants : and the last Chinese immigrant ship reached Demerara in 1879. The recruiting centres in China were the two southernmost coast provinces of the Empire—Fu-kien and Kuang-tung. In order, therefore, to have an intelligent appreciation of the course of Chinese immigration to British Guiana, it is necessary to pass in brief review the history of China—and especially of South China—between the years 1840 and 1879.



CHAPTER II.

SUMMARY OF CHINESE HISTORY BETWEEN 1840 AND 1879.

**First War
Between
England
and China
1840-
1843.**

In 1840 Great Britain declared war upon China, in order to get reparation for insults to British traders, to exact compensation for the losses our merchants had sustained, and to obtain security for foreign residents in China. This war was the beginning of a struggle between the Chinese Empire and Europe, China refusing to treat diplomatically or commercially on equal terms with Western nations, and the West insisting on equality of treatment. All attempts at peaceful settlement failed and the only resource left was an appeal to arms. The operations of the war lasted about three years from 1840 to 1843 : and resulted in the blockade of Canton and the capture of Amoy, Ning-po, Shanghai and other towns. Defeated at all points and finally menaced in the North as well as in the South, the Chinese sued for cessation of hostilities and the war ended with the ratification of the Treaty of Nan-king on the 26th June, 1843. This Treaty provided, among other matters which do not here concern us, that Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ning-po and Shanghai were to be opened to foreign trade as treaty ports, and that the Island of Hongkong should be ceded to Great Britain, "it being" (in the words of the Treaty) "obviously necessary and desirable that British subjects should have some port at which they may careen and refit their ships, when required, and keep stores for that purpose."

Thus the first step was taken to place commercial relations between Europe and China—especially South China (for all the five Treaty ports were South of the Yangtze)—upon a proper footing: and here we note also the birth of Hongkong as a British Colony, and indeed as a place of any consequence at all; for prior to British occupation the inhabitants of the Island probably never exceeded, at any one time, a total of 2,000 people, including those of Pun-ti, Hak-kā and Hok-lo origin,* whether afloat or ashore.

* The population in the Kuang-tung province offers great diversity of race, the principal being (1) the *Pun-ti* 本地 (original stock) or Cantonese proper, forming more than half the population and occupying especially the centre of the province and the West River delta: they consider themselves the rightful owners of the soil: (2) the *Hak-kā* 客家 (squatters, aliens), located principally in small and scattered groups in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi, but also found in Fu-kien, Kiang-hsi, Ché-kiang, Formosa and Hai-nan. Their original home was in Shan-tung, Shan-si and An-hui. A first persecution (B.C. 249-209) drove them from Shan-tung, and compelled them to settle down in An-hui, Honan and Kiang-hsi. A second persecution (A.D. 419) scattered them into the mountainous regions in the south-east of Kiang-hsi and to the borders of Fu-kien. A third persecution (A.D. 620) compelled them again to take refuge in the mountains of Fu-kien, and the high ranges which separate Kiang-hsi from Kuang-tung. In A.D. 1368 they were driven from Fu-kien by disturbances which agitated that province, and finally settled down in large numbers in the north of Kuang-tung. Thence they spread over the west and south-west of Kuang-tung and over different parts of Kuang-hsi. An implacable strife, in which about 150,000 perished, took place between the *Hak-kā* and the *Pun-ti* in the south-west of Kuang-tung during A.D. 1864-6, obliging the Chinese Government to take vigorous measures and to remove a large number of the *Hak-kā* to Kuang-hsi, Hai-nan and other parts of the country; (3) the *Hok-lo* 福佬 (people from Fu-kien, or as it is locally pronounced *Hok*, province) found principally in the north-east of Kuang-tung province, whither they migrated from Fu-kien a few centuries ago.

Events,
Between
1843-
1856.

Although the war ended in 1843, intercourse between China and the West did not become by any means a smooth and easy matter. At Canton, where the people had always been unusually anti-foreign, difficulties were constantly arising between the Chinese and the English, and within three months after the signing of the Treaty of Nan-king, placards were posted about the villages inciting the populace to violence and an organized attack on the British factories was made, resulting in the burning of the buildings. The Chinese authorities, when asked to suppress these disturbances, declared that they were powerless before the mob and dared not coerce the Canton populace. They urged the British Government not to insist upon carrying out the article of the Treaty allowing British traders free access to Canton, prophesying a serious uprising should they attempt to do so. Matters came to a crisis in 1847, when an English party of six narrowly escaped being murdered near Canton by a Chinese mob. At this time Lord Palmerston became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and ordered Sir John Davis, the Governor of Hong-kong, to take steps to put an end to these disturbances and to carry out the Treaty. Accordingly, the Bogue Forts at the mouth of the Canton River were seized, and British troops took up a strong offensive position opposite the walls of Canton. The Chinese authorities, alarmed at the aspect of affairs, entered into negotiations with Sir John Davis, whom they persuaded to defer until the 6th April, 1849, the date at which Canton city should be thrown open promising in return that no further trouble should be allowed to arise. But, as the date drew near, the Chinese authorities showed great disinclination to comply with this arrange-

ment, giving as their reason for desiring a further postponement the fear lest there should be a serious uprising of the Cantonese, with whom the agreement was very unpopular.

While matters were at this critical stage, Mr. Harry Parkes was appointed British Consul at Canton. He was a man of indomitable courage, and his whole career was devoted to forcing the Chinese Government to treat his fellow countrymen with justice and good faith. The Canton authorities firmly refused to hold any direct communication with the British Consul within the walls of Canton. Tension became extreme, and in October, 1856, the "Arrow" incident precipitated hostilities.

Second
War
Between
England
and China,
1856-
1860.

A vessel, named the "Arrow," registered at Hongkong, commanded by an Irish officer and flying the British flag, was boarded while lying in the Canton River by Chinese officials, who hauled down the flag and carried off twelve of the crew to a Chinese war-junk as prisoners. Mr. Parkes demanded an apology for the insult to the flag and the return of the crew to the ship from which they had been taken. As these demands were not complied with, Sir Michael Seymour, who commanded the British fleet, was ordered to retake the Bogue Forts. This was done; and in December, 1856, all the fortifications on the Canton River were in the hands of the British. Canton itself was bombarded, a part of the city wall seized and one of the city gates taken. Sir Michael Seymour and Mr. Parkes entered the city, but their force was insufficient to hold Canton for any length of time: and after this demonstration it

was decided to withdraw and await the arrival of reinforcements from home.

So began the second war with China. The "Arrow" incident is usually cited as the *casus belli*, but in truth the standpoints of the contending parties made this collision inevitable. The Chinese still looked upon Westerners as beneath them in civilization and would not treat them on terms of equality, while the British held that the Chinese were resisting demands which might properly be made of any civilized nation, namely, the right to carry on commerce freely and to have their official representatives treated with respect.

The British reinforcements were temporarily diverted to India on account of the outbreak of the Indian mutiny; and meanwhile the French Government, led partly by the desire to seek reparation for the massacre of a French missionary in Kuang-hsi province and partly by the spirit of aggrandizement, which had manifested itself under the rule of Napoleon III., decided to join with Great Britain in hostilities against China. At last, after many desultory engagements, the British and French troops assaulted Canton in December, 1857, and after a brief struggle captured the city. A provisional Government, consisting of one Chinese official, Mr. Parkes, Colonel Holloway and a French naval officer, was thereupon established in Canton and ruled the city from 5th January, 1858, to 21st October, 1861, during which time order was maintained and the people enjoyed security of life and property.

The war, however, continued in North China and was not concluded until the Allies advanced on Peking and burned the Emperor's Summer Palace in October, 1860. Then at last on the 24th

of that month, in the Hall of Ceremonies at Peking, the Treaty of Tientsin was ratified and on the same day the Treaty of Peking was signed. The effect of these two documents, so far as they concern us here, was to cede a part of the Kowloon peninsula on the mainland opposite Hong-kong to the British Crown, to throw open the ports of New-chwang, Chefoo, Formosa, Swatow, Kiung-chow and Tientsin to foreign commerce, to allow British ships to trade on the Yangtze, and to give the British Government the right to appoint a resident Minister at the Court of Peking. Nevertheless, it was not until the 29th June, 1873—thirteen years later—that the foreign Ministers resident in Peking were for the first time received in audience by the Son of Heaven.

**T'ai-p'ing
Rebellion:**
1850-
1864.

Peace was now restored between Great Britain and China after twenty years of smouldering enmity, which had twice blazed out into wars lasting seven years in all. But in the meantime an appalling calamity had overtaken the Chinese Empire. In 1850 the T'ai-p'ing* Rebellion broke out in the province of Kuang-hsi and spread rapidly into the adjacent provinces of Kuang-tung and Hu-nan and to the Yangtze valley. The towns of Han-kow, Han-yang and Wu-chang were taken by storm. An-king and Kiu-kiang suffered the same fate; and in March, 1853, the city of Nan-king—once the capital of China—was seized and made the rebel capital. Although frustrated in an attempt on Peking, the rebels for a time controlled the Yangtze valley from I-chang to Yang-chow: and they received no serious check until, after the conclusion of the Treaty of

* 太平

Peking, the "Ever Victorious Army" was organized at first under two Americans, Ward and Burgevine, and afterwards under Captain C. G. Gordon who took command in January, 1863, and dealt the rebellion its death blow by re-capturing Nan-king on the 19th July, 1864. Nine of the fairest Chinese provinces were devastated by this rebellion; flourishing towns and cities had become heaps of ruins, wherein wild beasts made their dens; misery and sorrow incalculable had been caused, whilst over twenty millions of lives had been sacrificed. I have myself seen the scars left in South China by this catastrophe, which fifty years have not effaced.

**Mahom-
medan
Rebellion
1867-
1873.**

China now had a short rest; but in 1867 the Mahommedan population of Yün-nan Province, incited by unjust treatment at the hands of Chinese officials, and in order to resist a plot, which they claimed was on foot, to kill all followers of the Prophet, broke out into rebellion. The rebels seized the capital of the province and the city of Ta-li-fu. Their leader took the title of Sultan Suleiman and sent a mission to England to seek from the British Government recognition as an independent sovereign. Shortly afterwards the rebellion spread to the provinces of Shên-si and Kan-su, owing to an attempt on the part of the Chinese to slaughter all Mahommedans in those provinces. This Mahommedan rebellion was at last suppressed by the Chinese Government in 1873 with merciless severity, after three provinces, which had escaped the ravages of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, had been laid waste and their population decimated. Twelve out of the eighteen provinces of the Chinese Empire were thus

devastated by rebellions which lasted almost continuously from 1850 to 1873.

Meanwhile in 1867 the Chinese Government sent its first embassy to foreign countries. It consisted of three envoys, two Chinese and one foreigner. The latter was Mr. Anson Burlingame, who had been Minister of the United States in China. The Embassy proceeded first to the United States of America, and thence to Great Britain and the Continent of Europe. It was brought to an unhappy end by the death of Mr. Burlingame at Petrograd in 1870.

Tientsin
Riot:
1870.

But, even while the mission was in progress, serious anti-foreign riots took place in Yang-chow and in Formosa against European missionaries and merchants, demonstrating that the feeling of the Chinese people towards Westerners had not materially altered: and in June, 1870, there occurred in Tientsin an anti-foreign riot of larger dimensions than any that had previously taken place. During it the French Consul was set upon by the crowd and beaten to death, while more 20 foreigners were killed. The Foreign Ministers thereupon demanded the punishment of the Tientsin officials, who had made no attempt to quell the mob. After prolonged negotiations it was agreed that the Prefect of Tientsin and the District Magistrate should be banished, and that some of those supposed to be ringleaders of the riot should be decapitated. The sum of 400,000 taels was paid in compensation, and a Chinese mission was sent to France to make apologies to the French Government.

**Audience
of Foreign
Ministers
at Peking:
1873.**

Then, as I have said, in 1873, the question of holding an audience of the Foreign Ministers at Peking was again mooted, and the Chinese at last yielded the privilege, but contrived to arrange that the audience should take place in the hall for receiving tributary nations, the "Pavilion of Purple Light." The audience was held on the 29th June, 1873; and the actual reception of the Foreign Ministers by the Emperor of China seemed at the time to be a great step in advance. Many sanguine expectations were entertained as to a better understanding about to exist between China and the West; but these hopes were not destined to be realized for many years.

**Murder
of Mr.
Margary:
1874.**

As a fact, in the next year, 1874, Mr. A. R. Margary of the British Consular Service was treacherously assassinated at Manwyne in Yün-nan province. The British Minister, Sir Thomas Wade, held the Governor of Yün-nan responsible, but the Chinese Government attributed the crime to the natives of the province, who (they claimed) were stirred up to commit the murder by their unwillingness to grant a trade-route for foreign commerce through their territory. After prolonged negotiation at Peking, Sir Thomas Wade at last left Peking for Shanghai, where he could be in direct telegraphic communication with the British Foreign Office and advise the use of forcible measures to bring about a settlement. This step led the Chinese, for the sake of avoiding a possible war, to consent to a conference.

**Chefoo
Conven-
tion: 1876.**

Li Hung-chang* was appointed Commissioner to confer with Sir Thomas Wade at Chefoo; and the result of this conference was the Chefoo Convention, signed on the 13th September, 1876, which provided for payment of 200,000 taels as compensation, for the despatch of an embassy to London to express regret for the murder, for posting proclamations throughout the Chinese Empire enjoining that Englishmen were everywhere to be protected, and for the opening of four new Treaty Ports and of six ports of call on the Yangtze for landing foreign goods.

This is the last incident in Chinese history during the years under review which I need touch upon: and it will be seen from this brief summary that the whole period during which British Guiana endeavoured to obtain Chinese immigrants was one of storm and stress in China, especially in the Southern provinces which were devastated by rebellions; that there was constant antagonism, resulting in seven years of warfare, between the British and Chinese Governments; and that strong anti-foreign feeling dominated the Chinese populace—especially in Canton—making trade with British merchants difficult and even dangerous. The period was one of unusual turmoil and singularly ill adapted for the experiment of seeking in China a recruiting ground of labour for the sugar estates of British Guiana.

* 李鴻章

CHAPTER III

FIRST EXPERIMENT IN CHINESE IMMIGRATION (1850-1854)

**Mr.
White's
First
Mission
to China:
1850-
1852.**

In September, 1850, Mr. James T. White, the emigration agent of British Guiana at Calcutta, proceeded to China on a mission of inquiry on behalf of Demerara and Trinidad. He reached Hongkong on the 26th May, 1851, and presented to the Governor of Hongkong, Sir George S. Bonham, letters of introduction from Earl Grey and Lord Palmerston. He took advantage of every opportunity that offered to make excursions into the country, in order to see the villages and to acquire some information as to the habits, character and condition of the peasantry. But, as he wrote to Governor Barkly on the 21st June, 1851, these excursions were necessarily limited to the immediate neighbourhood of Hongkong, Canton and Macao, because at that time the Chinese Government was excessively jealous of foreigners, and it was impossible to proceed any distance without personal danger. On the 26th June, Mr. White left Hongkong for Amoy, where he spent a few days, returning to Hongkong on the 16th July. On the 24th August, he set out from Hongkong on his return journey to England *via* Singapore, Penang and Calcutta, and he reached England early in June, 1852. As the result of his inquiries, Mr. White wrote on the 21st June, 1851 :—"I have no hesitation in recommending the Chinese as emi-

“grants for the West Indies. . . . I
 “consider the Chinese as being superior to the
 “Bengalese in every point of view with reference
 “to colonization; and, if hereafter any means
 “should be found to overcome the difficulty which
 “now exists as to the non-emigration of women
 “and families, I am confident that the Chinese
 “will be found the best labourers that have yet
 “been introduced into the West Indies.” Again
 on the 19th July, 1851, he wrote from Hong-
 kong :—“I have no reason to alter the opinion
 “formerly expressed that the Chinese are admir-
 “ably adapted as labourers for the West Indies ;
 “they are strong, active and intelligent, disposed
 “to work and to make money. The climate here,
 “at least at this season of the year, is very similar
 “to that of the West Indies, and I think they
 “would enjoy health and strength in their new
 “location. The extensive cultivation of rice and
 “sugar in the lowlands in the two provinces of
 “Canton and Fu-kien would seem to qualify them
 “for a residence in Trinidad and Demerara, and I
 “believe they will be found hardy and indus-
 “trious.”

**Mr.
 White's
 Report.**

Mr. White also reported that effective agricultural labourers could be obtained for the West Indies in the provinces of Kuang-tung and Fu-kien, under agreement of five years service, without any stipulation as to return passage, at the rate of \$4 per mensem, food and lodging being found by the importers ; that the cost of emigration from China to the West Indies would be very little higher than from India, the estimate in the latter case being £13, and in the former case £15, per head ; that emigration from China might be carried on throughout the year, but probably to

more advantage, and perhaps also with more economy during the period between November and March, the season of the North-East monsoon, when sailing ships could make the passage to the West Indies in from 30 to 40 days less than at other times, while (as agricultural operations were largely suspended in the winter months) field labourers could then be obtained more readily and on more favourable terms : that the general provisions and stipulations of the English Passengers' Act should be insisted on as being necessary to the safety and well-being of the emigrants : that nine hours a day of steady and continuous labour, or the task-work corresponding thereto, should be required from the emigrant as an equivalent for his monthly wages : and finally that it would be desirable to give the Chinese emigrants an interest in the soil and its produce.

**Decision
of the
Court of
Policy.**

In the meantime an extract from the annual report on trade in China by Dr. Bowring, British Consul at Canton, in which he drew attention to the increasing volume of Chinese emigration, was transmitted to Governor Barkly by Earl Grey in a despatch dated the 8th July, 1851, and was considered on the 13th August, 1851, by the Court of Policy, who referred it to the Immigration Committee. This Committee expressed the opinion "that every possible means should be adopted to encourage emigration from China." "It is evident," they remarked, "from the information contained in Dr. Bowring's communication that a supply of valuable labourers to an almost unlimited extent can be procured from China." They, therefore, recommended that a vessel should be sent out to China immediately to embark emigrants ; that a proclamation should be

issued under Ordinance No. 22 of 1851, by which Ordinance No. 23 of the previous year had been repealed and re-enacted, offering the same bounty of \$100 for effective Chinese immigrants under engagement to work for five years as agricultural labourers : that wages not exceeding \$4 a month should be guaranteed ; and that an advance not exceeding \$10, to be repaid by instalments in British Guiana, should be made to each emigrant before embarkation.

Mr. G. Booker's Venture with the Lord Elgin. These recommendations were adopted by the Court of Policy on the 25th August, 1851, upon the motion of Mr. Peter Rose, seconded by Mr. George Booker ; and the latter informed the Government of British Guiana on the 2nd September, 1851, that he was willing to despatch from Georgetown to China a vessel, the *Lord Elgin*, 351 tons, "for the purpose" of making a commencement at as early a period "as possible, of importing labourers from that part of the world", upon condition that the vessel should convey to Madras on her way out a shipload of returning East Indians. Governor Barkly accepted this offer, and the *Lord Elgin* sailed from Georgetown on the 6th October, 1851, with 146 Indians (equivalent to 137½ statute adults) on board. Thus commenced a voyage which fifteen months later Governor Barkly described as "a most disastrous one to all concerned."

Offer of Bounty Renewed. In view of this venture and pursuant to the resolution adopted by the Court of Policy on the 25th August, 1851, Governor Barkly issued a proclamation, dated the 21st April, 1852, fixing at

\$100 the bounty to be paid on immigrants introduced into the Colony "from China or from any port east of Pointe de Galle in Ceylon." Funds for payment of the bounty had already been provided; for on the 14th October, 1851, upon the motion of Mr. P. Rose, seconded by Mr. G. Quayle, the Court of Policy had resolved that the sum of £50,000, a part of the Parliamentary loan of £250,000, should be applied to the introduction of Chinese immigrants. But meanwhile the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in London, who had reason to believe that Messrs. Hyde, Hodge and Company had been tempted by the proposed bounty to despatch two ships on their own account to bring emigrants from China to British Guiana, came to the conclusion that Chinese emigration to the West Indies ought not to be set on foot without consulting Mr. White, who was on his way to England, and perhaps engaging his services as Government Agent at the seat of emigration. On learning this, Governor Barkly suggested to the Court of Policy that the bounty of \$100 should at once be withdrawn. The Court, however, deemed it expedient to await more precise information on the subject before authorising any change.

<p>Messrs. Dent and Com- pany Decline to Act as Agents.</p>	<p>When, in the beginning of June, 1852, Mr. White arrived in England, an endeavour was made by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners to persuade Messrs. Dent and Company to take the emigration into their hands. This firm had been so long established in China, and was so well known and so highly respected, that any undertaking in which</p>
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they interested themselves was likely to be viewed with favour by the Chinese; while their high standing would have been to the Chinese emigrants a guarantee of just and fair treatment in the country to which they went. There was reason to believe that the firm would undertake the business on terms of receiving a commission on the money expended, which it was further supposed by Mr. White and by a partner in the house of Messrs. Dent and Company would not exceed \$100 per head. The West India Committee were extremely desirous that these terms should be accepted; but Messrs. Dent and Company in the end, declined the proposal.

Mr.
White's
Second
Mission
to China:
1852-
1853.

The Committee then desired that Mr. White should be sent out as Government Agent, with a salary of £1,000 a year. To this proposal Mr. White acceded, and he accordingly left England for China by the mail steamer of August, arriving in Hongkong on the 10th October, 1852. His formal appointment as "Government Emigration Agent at Hongkong and at such other ports on or near the coast of China as the Governor of Hongkong should designate" was delayed from the necessity of communicating with the Foreign Office; but the letter of appointment, with the necessary instructions as revised and approved by the Secretary of State, was transmitted to him by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners on the 23rd October, 1852. This letter did not reach Mr. White until it was too late to be of any use, but the instructions so far as they concern British Guiana are interesting.

**Instruc-
tions given
Mr. White
by the
Emigra-
tion Com-
missioners.**

It was known that Messrs. Hyde, Hodge and Company had instructed their agent in China to ship, if possible, not less than 1,200 emigrants for British Guiana: and the Commissioners thought it probable that the ships despatched with the same object from Georgetown would raise this number to nearly 1,700, at an expense to the Colony (if all were landed alive) of £34,000 in payment of bounties. But the sum appropriated by the Court of Policy for the introduction of Chinese immigrants was only £50,000. Mr. White was, therefore, instructed that as great a number of Chinese should be shipped to British Guiana as (after allowing for those despatched on bounty) could be paid for by the sum of £50,000; and he was further informed that no vessel taking emigrants from a port for which he was appointed agent would be able to obtain bounty unless furnished by him with the list and certificate prescribed by section 8 of Ordinance No. 20 of 1851.* This, therefore, would be his lever for securing the judicious selection and proper treatment of Chinese emigrants recruited by the agents of Mr. George Booker, or of Messrs. Hyde, Hodge and Company. Mr. White was authorised to incur the expense necessary for procuring and sending out at least one competent interpreter in each ship. The Commissioners further impressed upon him "the extreme importance, both morally and economically, of sending as large a proportion of females as possible." With the male labourers he was authorised to make contracts on the terms laid down by the Court

* See Appendix A.

of Policy on the 25th August, 1851, which were as follows :

(a) an advance of a sum not exceeding \$10 to be made to each effective emigrant before embarkation, to be repaid by instalments in British Guiana ;

(b) wages not exceeding \$4 a month and food at the same scale as that fixed for African ships, viz.—biscuit $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. ; rice $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. ; beef, pork or salt fish $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. ; women to receive the same rations as men ;

(c) if they should prefer to be paid at the same rate as other labourers in the Colony for their work and find their own provisions, they should have the option of doing so ;

(d) the contracts to be for five years, but to be determinable by the emigrant at the end of each year, and to be made with the formalities prescribed by section 5 of Ordinance No. 22 of 1851.*

In the case of women, however, Mr. White was given discretion to pay an advance larger than

* Section 5 of Ordinance No. 22 of 1851 was as follows :—

5. And be it enacted, that all contracts made and entered into out of this Colony with any Chinese immigrant for the performance of any labour or service in agriculture within this Colony for a period not exceeding the term of five years to be computed from the day of the landing of such immigrant in the Colony, shall be valid and in force for the period therein mentioned : Provided always, that no such contract shall be valid or in force unless the same shall be reduced to writing and be signed with the name, or in case of illiterate persons with the mark, of each of the contracting parties, in the presence of a Notary Public or British Consul, nor unless such Notary Public or British Consul shall subscribe the written contract in attestation of the fact that it was entered into by the parties voluntarily, and with a clear understanding of its meaning and effect.

\$10 and to offer wages amounting to \$5 a head per month, with food and lodging, or \$7 without such allowance.

**Voyage
of the
Lord Elgin
and her
Arrival in
George-
town.**

Mr. White reached Hongkong on the 10th October, 1852, only to find that the first two emigrant-ships had already left China for British Guiana and that the third was about to leave in the following month. Messrs. Booker and Brothers' ship, the *Lord Elgin*, had on the 23rd July, 1852, embarked at Amoy 154 Chinese emigrants, of whom 115 were men and 39 were boys under twenty-one years of age. The voyage to Singapore occupied 62 days (23rd July to 23rd September), during which time 4 Chinese died. The voyage from Singapore to Anjar, a port in the Straits of Sunda, on the Java shores, occupied 23 days (26th September to 19th October) during which time 5 Chinese died. Twenty-four hours before reaching Anjar the barque struck on Brower's Bank, but she got off without making water. On the 24th October, three days after leaving Anjar, at a distance from that place of about 260 English miles, it was discovered that the vessel had sprung a leak and made considerable water. Thereupon the ship was observed to be "steaming considerably," owing to the fermentation of rice below the passengers' deck, which fermentation filled the vessel with sulphurated hydrogen gas to such an extent that everything painted became discoloured and black, and even some of the medicines in stoppered bottles were decomposed. The deadly exhalations from this fermenting rice resulted in increased sickness, in the form of anasarca and dysentery, with much scorbutic eruption and debility among the emigrants, so much so that in

the 46 days of the voyage from Anjar to the Cape of Good Hope there were 41 deaths, and during the 39 days' passage from the Cape to Demerara, where the vessel arrived on the 17th January, 1853, after a voyage of 177 days, there were 19 deaths, making altogether 69 deaths among 154 Chinese emigrants shipped at Amoy—a mortality of 44.8%. Governor Barkly appointed a special Commission, consisting of Mr. Vander Gon Netscher (member of the Court of Policy), Dr. D. Blair (Surgeon General) and Mr. R. G. Butts (Inspector General of Police) to inquire into the causes of this terrible mortality : and this Commission reported that the causes were :—

(a) the very long confinement in foul air, as demonstrated by the fact that in the former half of the voyage one-seventh only, and in the latter half six-sevenths of the deaths occurred :

(b) the crankness of the vessel, the want of room for exercise, and the deficient supply of variety in food, especially fresh provisions :

(c) the failure to observe the rules and regulations of the Passengers' Act of 1852, which, if adopted, would in the opinion of the Commission have prevented most, if not all, of the calamities of the voyage.

When it is added that both the captain and the surgeon-in-charge of the *Lord Elgin* were desperately ill during the voyage : and that the ship-owners, even after receiving the bounty on the emigrants landed alive, sustained a loss of £1,500 from the voyage, I think no one can fail to agree with Governor Barkly's opinion as to the "disastrous" nature of this venture.

**Voyage
of the
Glen-
tanner.**

Nor were Messrs. Hyde, Hodge and Company much more successful. Their first ship, the *Glentanner*, 615 tons, left Amoy on the 1st September, 1852, having on board 305 Chinese : she touched at Batavia and Algoa Bay, and after a voyage of 131 days reached Georgetown on the 12th January, 1853. During the voyage 43 Chinese died and immediately on arrival of the ship 12 immigrants (the half of whom died) were sent to hospital, while two more died on board, and four others went to hospital a few days later—a total mortality of 16.7%. Dr. E. A. Manget, the acting Health Officer in Georgetown, reported that the mortality on board the *Glentanner*, great as it was, would have been greater but for the comparatively quick passage made by the vessel (46 days less than the *Lord Elgin*) : that the chief cause of it was undoubtedly the length of the voyage and the fact that the *Glentanner* was unsuitable as an immigrant ship being badly ventilated and having too little room on deck for the number she carried.

**Voyage
of the
Samuel
Boddington.**

Both the *Lord Elgin* and the *Glentanner* had left Amoy before Mr. White's arrival in China : but, when he reached Hongkong, he learned that the *Samuel Boddington*, 669 tons, owned by Messrs. Hyde, Hodge and Company, had been lying at Amoy since the 12th September, 1852, in order to ship Chinese emigrants for Demerara. Messrs. Turner and Company, agents of Hyde, Hodge and Company, had an establishment at Canton, but none at Amoy. They had, therefore, appointed Messrs. Tait and Company, who were resident at Amoy, to procure Chinese labourers for embarkation in the *Samuel*

Boddington. Messrs. Tait and Company were a very respectable house, but were engaged to supply labourers for Cuba, and, as there had been serious scandals in connexion with the Chinese emigration to Cuba, Mr. White considered it objectionable that the firm should have the shipment of labourers to the British West Indies, when they were at the same time engaged in sending labourers to Cuba : but he was unable to interfere with pending arrangements. However, he visited Amoy, where he stayed from the 20th October to the 9th November, and took occasion to expostulate with Messrs. Tait and Company on the unsatisfactory quality of the emigrants whom they were collecting for the *Samuel Boddington* and on the number of boys intended to be reckoned as adults. But it was not until the 10th November—the day after Mr. White left Amoy to return to Hongkong - that being the 59th day since the arrival of the ship at Amoy and the 19th day of demurrage, that Messrs. Tait and Company sent a batch of 95 Chinese on board. Between the 10th and the 23rd November, 308 adults and 44 boys were embarked and on the 23rd November, Dr. Ely, the surgeon-in-charge, examined them all and found only 162 men and 40 boys, 202 in all, physically fit for embarkation. Messrs. Tait and Company, however, told the captain and the surgeon in plain terms that they had but one of two things to do, namely, either to take their complement out of the rejected numbers, or lose any recompense for a short shipment, for the Company, as agents of the charterers, considered the emigrants quite good enough. In these circumstances the captain and surgeon could do nothing else but take the 352 emigrants, of whom the surgeon had previously rejected 150, and among whom he anticipated many deaths before the end

of the voyage. The ship sailed from Amoy on the 25th November, 1852, and having touched at St. Helena, where she remained one day, reached Demerara on the 4th March, 1853. But, although the voyage was a very rapid one, lasting only 98 days, 41 emigrants died on shipboard and 11 were lost overboard—a mortality of 14.7%—while of the 300 landed alive 29 had to be sent to hospital at once.

The Health Officer, Dr. J. M. Johnstone, gave it as his opinion that this excessive mortality mainly arose from the cessation of the supply of opium to men whose habitual immoderate use of that drug had rendered it essential for the prevention of diarrhœa : but it must not be forgotten that Dr. Ely's efforts to enforce a proper selection of emigrants at Amoy had been frustrated by Messrs. Tait and Company, who insisted on shipping no less than 150 emigrants whom he had on examination rejected. Moreover, the ship was overcrowded : for the total number of statute adults (exclusive of master, crew and cabin passengers) which the *Samuel Boddington* could legally carry, under the Imperial Passengers' Act of 1852, was 335 : whereas the number of statute adults actually embarked at Amoy was 352.

**Reduction
and With-
drawal of
Bounty on
Chinese
Immi-
grants.**

In the meantime Governor Barkly on the 24th September, 1852, had again drawn the attention of the Court of Policy to the fact that, as Mr. White had actually sailed for China, it was desirable to withdraw the bounty of \$100 *per caput* offered for Chinese immigrants : but he still found a great unwillingness on the part of the elective section to put a stop to "private enterprise," and his recommendation, after much discussion, only led to a resolution

that the bounty on immigrants from China, arriving in vessels which cleared from any port in the China seas subsequently to the 31st March, 1853, should be reduced to \$80. When, however, on the 31st January, 1853, a few days after the arrival in Georgetown of the *Lord Elgin* and *Glentanner*, Governor Barkly again brought the matter before the Court of Policy, the scruples of the elective section as to interfering with "private enterprise" had at last been removed, and it was resolved that the bounty on Chinese immigrants should be withdrawn altogether, as far as the public generally was concerned, with effect from the 1st August, 1853. The step, however, had been taken too late, for no more Chinese immigrants reached British Guiana until 1859.

**Failure of
Mr. White
to Obtain
Vessels.**

On the 9th April, 1853, Mr. White wrote from Hongkong that it had been found impossible to obtain vessels to complete the emigration to Demerara "owing to the high rates of freight prevailing to California and also partially to Australia, and to the reluctance, and even in some cases the positive refusal, of captains and crews to engage in the emigration service, in consequence of the occurrence of so many disasters," several cases of great mortality, of mutiny and murder having recently occurred on board of vessels bound for Peru and Panama with Chinese labourers.

**Mr.
White's
Recommendations.**

The experience of the season had fully confirmed Mr. White's view as to the "danger of leaving the emigration from China in private hands, without sufficient responsibility, and paid by a bounty or by a commission on each emigrant shipped."

Chinese emigration to Demerara must, he wrote, be conducted by a paid officer, responsible to the Government of British Guiana and to a certain extent under the orders and supervision of the Hongkong Government. • "The headquarters of the emigration office should be at Hongkong, but the agent should have the authority to procure emigrants at other places and to send vessels there, if necessary. . . . Emigration should be restricted to the period between the 1st September and 31st March, giving the agent authority to extend the period under certain circumstances, and with the sanction of the Governor."

**Return of
Mr. White
and Con-
ference in
London.**

Mr. White left for England on the 11th April, 1853: and the Emigration Commissioners took advantage of the simultaneous presence in London of Mr. White, of Dr. Bowring, Consul at Canton, of Dr. Winchester, First Assistant in the Consulate at Amoy, as well as of Sir Henry Barkly, on his return from the Government of British Guiana, to hold various conferences on the best mode of adding to the security and efficiency of Chinese emigration to the West Indies. As the result of these conferences the Duke of Newcastle directed on the 15th September, 1853, "that emigration to the British West India Colonies should be conducted solely under the management of a responsible agent," and instructed that agent "to use every exertion to make Hongkong the common starting-place for Chinese emigrants proceeding to the West Indies, only leaving him discretionary power to have recourse to Amoy, if it should be found indispensable, and if there should be

“no reason to apprehend any abuses or disturbances there, or any collision with the Chinese authorities.”

**Chinese
Passenger
Act (18 &
19 Vict.
C. 104).**

The Commissioners had, however, pointed out, in a letter to the Colonial Office dated 27th July, 1853, that a difficulty would arise from the operation of the English Passengers' Act. The space required for immigrants by the Indian law, and actually allowed to coolies emigrating to Mauritius or the West Indies, was 12 superficial feet per statute adult ; but the Passengers' Act required, in voyages through the tropics, 15 feet. This Act had, of course, no effect in Chinese ports, where, therefore, the emigration could be conducted on the footing of the Indian law. But in Hongkong, as in all British Colonies, the English Act was in force, and would have the effect of reducing the complement of ships employed in the Chinese emigration by no less than 25%, and of raising the cost of passage by £2 or £3 per adult—a very material consideration when a transaction effecting several thousands of emigrants was in question. The Commissioners saw no sufficient reason for adopting a different rule in the Chinese and Indian emigrations and, therefore, suggested that the space required should be reduced to 12 feet. The Duke of Newcastle agreed in this view and introduced into Parliament a bill, which passed into law (18 and 19 Vict. cap. 104) empowering the Governors of the Colonies to declare by proclamation that in ships sailing from places in their respective Governments a space of 12, instead of 15, feet should suffice for natives of Asia or Africa who were to be conveyed through the tropics. The Duke, moreover, requested the

Governor of Hongkong to make use of the power conferred upon him by this Act, and to declare by proclamation that, at all events for the season of the N.E. monsoon, an allowance of 12 superficial feet for each passenger should be sufficient.

Mr.
White's
Third
Mission
to China,
1853-
1854.

Mr. White was re-appointed to be Emigration Agent for the West Indies in China and went out to Hongkong for the third time in the autumn of 1853. His instructions, which with respect to British Guiana were based upon a Resolution adopted by the Court of Policy on the 19th May, 1853, were as follows :—

(a) to procure 1,500 Chinese during the season 1853-4, exclusive of the deficiency in the season 1852-3 ;

(b) as a general rule, to charter no vessel of less than 800 tons register, and to secure, if possible, vessels of 1,000 tons and upwards ;

(c) to defray all the necessary expenses of emigration and to make advances to the emigrants themselves, not exceeding \$10 a head, inclusive of clothing ;

(d) to send a proper proportion of interpreters, say one to every fifty, and a native surgeon and one or two musicians in every vessel ;

(e) to arrange for the introduction of between 200 and 300 young females (if with families the more preferable) by a separate vessel, the advances to secure this object being left to Mr. White's discretion.

The third visit of Mr. White to China proved a complete failure, as he was unable to secure any

vessel to carry emigrants to Demerara. As regards female emigration, he wrote on the 10th December, 1853 :—"If the Government will authorize me to advance money for this purpose, I have no doubt of success. Girls of respectable connexion may be obtained for about \$40, of 10 to 15 years of age ; and I propose to pay this amount to a few of the more respectable emigrants, and leave them to make their own arrangements on condition of their marrying the women before the departure of the vessel. When favourable accounts are brought from the West Indies by returned Chinese emigrants, it may become unnecessary to resort to this method to procure women and children ; but until that takes place, if my information be correct, there is no probability of obtaining women without purchase ; for such is the universal custom of the country."

Seeing little prospect of getting vessels in Hongkong, Mr. White made an arrangement with Messrs. Tait and Company that, if any vessels arrived at Amoy suitable for the emigration service, they should be taken up for the conveyance of Chinese emigrants to the West Indies. "I wish," he added in a letter dated the 9th December, 1853, "these vessels to take emigrants from Namoa ;* and, if you will inform me when a vessel has been chartered, I will, if possible, meet her at that place." This arrangement proved abortive : but it alarmed the British Foreign Office. Namoa was not a Treaty Port ; and Lord Clarendon wrote to the Duke of New-

* More correctly written Nan-ao 南澳, a town in the Ch'ao-Chou 潮州 prefecture of Kuang-tung ; lat. 23° 40' N. ; long. 117° 20' E.

castle on the 4th April, 1854, that he had "seen
 "with surprise the deliberate disregard shown
 "by Mr. White for the Treaty engagements
 "between Her Majesty and the Emperor of
 "China, and for Her Majesty's Order-in-Council
 "of the 24th February, 1843, in sanctioning the
 "repair to Namoa for the purpose of embarking
 "coolies on a vessel chartered by him." Lord
 Clarendon was also much alarmed by Mr. White's
 plan for procuring female emigrants, which
 appeared to His Lordship "to afford an opening
 "for the greatest abuses, and in fact to set on
 "foot a trade little different from the Slave
 "Trade." Mr. White was accordingly warned
 that his character as an agent acting for the
 British Colonies would "not screen him from
 "being, equally with other British subjects,
 "responsible for any infringement of the Treaties
 "with China and of the Orders-in-Council for
 "carrying them into effect."

**Financial
 Exigencies
 put a Stop
 to Further
 Introduc-
 tion of
 Chinese
 Immi-
 grants.**

Meanwhile, on the 9th March 1854,
 upon the motion of Mr. Vander
 Gon Netscher, seconded by Mr.
 Wason, the Court of Policy resolved
 "that application should be made
 "for 2,000 Chinese, exclusive of the
 "deficiency of the 1,500 already
 "ordered." But the Colonial Land
 and Emigration Commissioners
 pointed out that the cost of introducing Chinese
 immigrants could not safely be estimated at less
 than £25 a head, as against £15 a head for East
 Indians, and that the funds in their hands were
 insufficient to enable them to comply with the
 demands of the Colony. Governor P. E. Wode-
 house thereupon again brought the matter before
 the Court of Policy by a minute, dated the 21st

April, 1854, in which he pointed out that the Colony must, owing to financial exigencies, reduce its demands and urged the Court to take the opportunity of weighing deliberately the advantages and disadvantages of Chinese immigration. "Admitting; for the sake of argument," he wrote, "certain high qualities of the Chinese, and the advantage of our being free from any pledge to provide them with a passage back to their own country, it cannot nevertheless be denied that the first cost of their introduction is very heavy, But there is another objection to their continued importation which, unless the system can be changed, is, in my view, almost insuperable, namely, the fact of their being accompanied by no females of their own race. The evils inseparable from this circumstance must be ultimately so great, that I should be most unwilling to become a party to measures from which they must inevitably result. It is not, perhaps, impossible that this difficulty might be overcome by paying a premium to married people offering themselves for shipment in China ; but here again the question of additional expense arises, and we must, before recommending the Combined Court to sanction further outlay, even for so desirable an object, inquire anxiously into our present ability to incur further charges." Governor Wodehouse also pointed out that the great competition to be encountered with the emigration from China to California and Australia must be very disadvantageous to British Guiana ; and that, if the organized export of Chinese to Cuba prospered, it would, from the comparative freedom from restriction under which it was conducted, be attended with less expense than our own ; while on the other hand, if the Cuban experi-

ment led eventually to disturbances and other evil consequences in that island, the unpopularity of the Cuban transactions would undoubtedly tend to check Chinese emigration to the West Indies generally.

**Mr.
White's
Employ-
ment
Termi-
nated.**

The Governor's view prevailed : and on the 8th May, 1854, the Court of Policy resolved, upon the motion of Mr. Robert Smith, seconded by Mr. John Jones, that it was "expedient" for the present to put a stop to the "introduction of Chinese immigrants into the "Colony," and that therefore the engagement of Mr. J. T. White should be terminated at as early a period as possible. Mr. White, who had failed during his three missions to China to recruit a single Chinese emigrant for British Guiana, left Hongkong in June, 1854. The Colonial Office intimated that he would not be employed again : and no one was appointed to take his place. Thus the first phase of Chinese emigration to British Guiana came to an abrupt end.

**Allocation
of Chinese
so far
Arrived
in British
Guiana.**

Before proceeding with my story, it may be useful to summarise what had so far been achieved and to take a glance at the condition of those Chinese who had already arrived in Demerara. It will be remembered that between the 12th January and 4th March, 1853, there had landed in Georgetown 647 male emigrants, namely, 262 from the *Glentanner*, 85 from the *Lord Elgin*, and 300 from the *Samuel Boddington*. No Chinese women had so far arrived in British Guiana. All Chinese emigrants who arrived in the *Lord Elgin* were allotted to the "Blankenburg" estate : those who arrived in the

Glentanner, were distributed between Plantations "La Jalousie," "Windsor Forest" and "Kleyn Pouderoeyh"; while those who arrived in the *Samuel Boddington* were assigned to Plantations "Anna Catharina," "Schoonord," "Vreed-en-Hoop," "Haarlem," "Stewartville" and "Hague."

Favourable Reports of Managers of Plantations. Mr. B. Trotman, the manager of the "Blankenburg" estate, was so satisfied with his Chinese labourers that he reported on the 23rd June, 1853 :—
 "I am willing to take 50 or 100 more Chinese on the terms I got the last, or if any planter may be dissatisfied with his batch I will be glad to take them over, with the consent of the representative of this property."
 Mr. Stephen R. Butts, manager of Plantation "La Jalousie" reported on the 28th June, 1853, that he considered his Chinese labourers "a very useful class of people, exceedingly apt and intelligent, and very willing, quite equal to any coolies we are now receiving," and he was of opinion that, when they became seasoned, they would prove "a better class of labourers for any and every description of work" than those from the East Indies. Mr. Griffin H. Bascom, manager of Plantation "Windsor Forest" wrote on the 24th June, 1853 :—"The Chinese on this estate are some of my best labourers; for strength and endurance they are equal to the Africans. . . . The people are happy and contented and cheerful, and I am well satisfied with them; I have advised Mr. Bascom to make application for a hundred more, and sincerely hope we may get them. . . . Three or four of the men keep a night school, and are teaching the boys to write and sing; I often go to their house in the

“evening and they always appear glad to see me, and ask many questions about their work ; I think I have only done my people justice in speaking of them in a flattering manner.” From “Kleyn Pouderoyen” it was reported in June, 1853, that many of the Chinese, at the time they were allotted to that plantation, were labouring under some disease, which, though not sufficiently serious to make it necessary for them to be sent to hospital, still rendered them unable to do much work, and that therefore this estate had as yet derived but little benefit by their services. I cannot find any report from the manager of “Anna Catharina” ; but the manager of “Schoonord” reported in June, 1853, that those Chinese who were in health evinced disposition to be industrious, and that their monthly earnings, which were about \$4, exceeded the wages of newly-arrived East Indians. The Chinese originally allotted to Plantation “Vreed-en-Hoop” were transferred in April, 1853, to “Anna Regina” and had not, at that date, recovered from the effects of their long voyage, and were much debilitated and in bad health. The manager reported them to be cheerful, peaceable and well-disposed, but by June, 1853, their earnings had been small in consequence of their weakly condition. They were, however, more muscular and athletic than the East Indians, and it was anticipated that in two or three months they would prove a valuable addition to the labouring force of “Anna Regina.” Mr. F. A. Matherson, manager of Plantation “Haarlem,” reported on the 24th June, 1853, that he had every reason to be satisfied as yet with the Chinese labourers located on his estate, and gave it as his opinion that the Chinese were likely to turn out as good labourers as any in the Colony. Mr. Alex. M. Bethune, manager of

Plantation "Stewartville" wrote on the 29th June, 1853:—"My opinion of the Chinese is, that "in course of time they will be very good and "useful labourers: but the heavy wet season "coming on so shortly after their arrival has been "greatly against them, giving them fevers and "ague, which they are very much troubled with at "present. . . . There is another and "very serious drawback to their doing well, which "is that there is no one among them that can talk "a word of English, consequently we can only "communicate with another by signs." Finally, Mr. M. Vaughan, manager of Plantation "Hague," wrote on the 22nd June, 1853:—"I find "the Chinese labourers allotted to this estate a "tractable and useful people. I may mention "that, since the rainy season set in, they are not "earning much money, yet they are not idle for a "day, unless in case of sickness, of which I "cannot complain."

**Surpris-
ingly Good
Result of
this First
Experi-
ment.**

When it is remembered that these Chinese were not selected with a view to any peculiar fitness for the labour assigned to them, but that apparently the chief object was to fill the emigration-ships—and this in the absence of any adequate control on the part of responsible agents of the Government to ensure proper accommodation and treatment on the voyage: and when it is further remembered that the *Glentanner* brought only one man, who by residing at Sydney had acquired a limited knowledge of English, and one other who had picked up a few words of French in Mauritius; that on board the *Lord Elgin* there was not a single Chinese acquainted with any language other than his native one, and that the only interpreter in the

Samuel Boddington was a boy speaking but a few words of English—in all three indifferent interpreters among 647 Chinese labourers distributed over 10 estates—it is a matter for surprise that the result should have been thus far so favourable, and we may well agree in the opinion expressed in a despatch dated the 8th July, 1853, by the Officer Administering the Government, Mr. W. Walker, when forwarding the reports of the managers of these estates to the Duke of Newcastle, that more satisfactory testimony to the “actual usefulness” and ultimately greater value” of Chinese labour in British Guiana could hardly be expected with any show of reason.



CHAPTER IV

EVENTS LEADING UP THE 'SECOND EXPERIMENT IN CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO BRITISH GUIANA : 1854-1858.

**Desire of
Planters to
Revive
Chinese
Immigra-
tion.**

The Court of Policy, upon the advice of Governor P. E. Wodehouse, had decided on the 8th May, 1854, to put a stop to the introduction of Chinese immigrants into British Guiana. But it was not long before both the Governor and the Court of Policy were anxious to revive Chinese immigration. On the 9th October, 1855, Governor Wodehouse informed the Colonial Office that it was very probable that some of the planters in British Guiana would make an effort to obtain Chinese immigrants, both male and female, on their own account, if informed that they might do so, subject to the regulations laid down by the Imperial Government. Mr. H. Labouchere replied that, "looking to the strong objections felt by the resident British authority in China responsible for our relations with that Empire and for the conduct of any British service undertaken there," it did not appear to him that the subject could at the time be revived with advantage.

**Resolu-
tions of
Public
Meeting at
George-
town.**

The matter, however, was not allowed to rest : and at a public meeting for the promotion of immigration, held in Georgetown on the 21st January, 1856, it was unanimously resolved, upon the motion of Mr. A. Macrae, seconded by Mr. J. H. King, "that with-

“out the supply of labour hitherto afforded by
 “immigration from Madeira, India, Africa and
 “China, this Colony could not have maintained
 “the production of its staple exports :” and it was
 further unanimously resolved, upon the motion of
 Mr. G. J. Luckie, seconded by Mr. S. A. Harvey,
 that the Imperial Government should be requested
 (a) to allow the Governor to grant “licences to
 “private persons to import labourers from India
 “and China on their own account, under proper
 “Government supervision”: and (b) to “remove
 “all restrictions on the free importation of labour-
 “ers from China, placing them on the same foot-
 “ing as Portuguese labourers from Madeira, and
 “allowing them to enter into contracts for the
 “same period as the coolie labourers from India.”
 These resolutions were embodied in a memorial
 to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, signed
 by 524 planters, merchants and other inhabitants
 of British Guiana, and the memorial was forward-
 ed to Mr. Labouchere by Governor Wodehouse on
 the 8th April, 1856. One of the clauses of the
 memorial urged the Imperial Government “to
 “allow contracts with Chinese labourers to be
 “entered into for ten years under similar regula-
 “tions to those now required for Indian immigrant
 “labourers.”

**Deputation
 of West
 India Pro-
 prietors
 waits on
 Mr. Labou-
 chere.**

Subsequently, on the 20th May, 1856, a deputation of West India proprietors waited upon Mr. Labouchere with the request that private immigration might be permitted, and that the time-limit for indentures should be extended to ten years.

Mr. Labouchere stated in reply that the British Government had resolved to disallow emigration from China altogether, in consequence of the

representations of Sir John Bowring, Governor of Hongkong, that any abuse attending it might interfere with the amicable relations of the two countries. The deputation replied that no abuse could take place under a proper system of checks and Government supervision : that Sir J. Bowring's fears arose from the gross frauds and outrages which occurred in the unregulated collection of Chinese emigrants for Cuba and Peru : that his predecessor, Sir George Bonham, had entertained a very different opinion, and, having been Governor of Singapore as well as of Hongkong, "had ample means of knowing the value of the Chinese as agricultural labourers, a value fully appreciated in the West Indies : that the only real evil, the deficiency of females, was always experienced early in emigration : that, if the emigration of men continued, the women eventually followed : " and that a shipload of Chinese women had been reported at Rio de Janeiro.

**Bounty
again Pro-
claimed
and
Cancelled.**

No decisive answer was made to the memorial, or to the deputation, for several months ; and meanwhile, in pursuance of a resolution made by the Court of Policy, on the 4th September, 1856, Governor Wodehouse, on the 6th *idem*, proclaimed \$100 a head to be the rate of bounty for the introduction into British Guiana of immigrants from China, or of Chinese from any port east of Point de Galle in Ceylon. This was a reversion to the policy of 1851, which had proved so little successful that it is not surprising to find that Mr. Labouchere on the 11th November, 1856, instructed Governor Wodehouse that, as the bounty emigration from China had been discontinued, the proclamation must be withdrawn and the bounty

on Chinese immigrants cancelled, adding that for the same reason the Emigration Commissioners had been directed to except the bounty on Chinese, and to omit ports east of Point de Galle, from their advertisements to shipowners.*

**Resolu-
tion of
Combined
Court.**

Nevertheless, on the 3rd December, 1856, the Combined Court resolved "that the Governor be requested to communicate to the Secretary of State the earnest desire of the Court that Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to sanction immigration from China to this Colony by means of private enterprise, upon the distinct understanding that a fixed proportion of females shall be introduced by each ship."

**Views of
Governor
Wode-
house.**

In forwarding this resolution to the Secretary of State three days later, Governor Wodehouse, who, in the space of two and a half years, appears to have entirely changed his mind on this subject, stated that Chinese immigration held out, in his opinion, such prospects of permanent benefit to the Colony, as to make it his duty, even at some personal hazard, to support this proposal. "I have for some weeks past," he wrote, "had under my consideration returns, imperfect, it is true, of the labour of Indian immigrants on the estates: and have been induced by the unsatisfactory nature of the returns of their work to make inquiries respecting the few gangs of Chinese now in the Colony. The replies are all to the same effect, that they are most valuable labourers, giving no trouble, and doing any sort of work required of them without question; and, therefore, seeing that in their case the Colony comes under no obligation for a back passage, there can be no

"dispute as to their great value, provided a sufficient number of women can be brought with them. The people of China are now voluntarily migrating in every direction, and the question for the decision of Her Majesty's Government appears to be whether it is necessary upon moral, social, or political grounds, to prohibit British merchants and capitalists from providing the Chinese with the means of reaching this distant part of the globe, accompanied by a certain proportion of females, without whom it is not desirable that they should come." If, he asked, Sir John Bowring should still be unwilling "to exercise a supervision over emigration to the West Indies," might not the undertaking be very properly entrusted to the enterprise of private individuals, who must trust to their own efforts for success, and whose acts need not necessarily compromise the British with the Chinese Government? He concluded as follows:—"In making this suggestion, I do not propose that the Chinese emigrant should be left to the mercy of the speculator, or that the latter should be freed from control of any sort. On the contrary, I would not permit the introduction into the Colony of Chinese, to be rendered subject while here to the immigration laws, except under licences from the Governor; and these licences might be issued under any conditions, in respect to the numbers, proportion of sexes, and treatment on board, which Her Majesty's Government might consider proper."

Mr. Labouchere
Negatives
Proposal.

Mr. Labouchere answered on the 1st April, 1857, that he did not think there would be any insuperable objection to the immigration of Chinese "confined, of course, to an emigration from Hongkong," but for the imprac-

ticability (which all experience hitherto gained had shown to exist) of obtaining women to accompany the male emigrants. He added that, until some plan could be suggested, by which this obstacle could be removed, it was useless "to entertain the question, or to sanction an expenditure, which could only end in disappointment."

**Second
War
Between
England
and China.**

Meanwhile, since 1850 the T'āi-p'ing Rebellion had been raging in South China ; and in October, 1856, as the result of the "Arrow" incident, war had broken out for the second time between England and China. This, no doubt, accounts for the more sympathetic attitude of the Colonial Office, as the fear that the question of Chinese immigration to the West Indies might cause friction between the two countries had ceased to trouble the British Government. The worst had happened : we were actually at war with China ; and ; it was, therefore, no longer necessary to consider Chinese susceptibilities with particular tenderness.

**Further
Resolu-
tion of
Combined
Court.**

The Combined Court saw their opportunity and on the 15th May, 1857 resolved, upon the motion of Mr. O'Donoghue, seconded by Mr. Porter :—

(a) "that in the year 1853 there were introduced into British Guiana a small number of Chinese immigrants for the purpose of testing their adaptation and efficiency as agricultural labourers :

(b) "that this experiment has been attended with such singularly beneficial results, no less

“ to the Colony than to the immigrants themselves,
 “ as clearly to demonstrate that under proper
 “ regulations, and with a due proportion of
 “ females, there can be no more suitable class of
 “ labourers for this Colony:

(c) “ that the present moment would seem to
 “ be particularly suitable for making another
 “ strong appeal to Her Majesty’s Government for
 “ the entire removal of all restrictions against the
 “ introduction by private enterprise of immigrants
 “ from all parts of China and the adjacent
 “ islands :

(d) “ that His Excellency the Governor be
 “ respectfully requested to forward these resolu-
 “ tions to Her Majesty’s Government, and strongly
 “ to urge upon it the expediency and justice of a
 “ reconsideration of this important question, with
 “ a view to the entire and immediate removal of
 “ all restrictions upon introducing immigrants by
 “ private enterprise from China.”

**Mr. Labou-
 chere Sym-
 pathetic.**

These resolutions were duly for-
 forwarded by Governor Wodehouse on
 the 18th June, 1857, and Mr. Labou-
 chere wrote in reply on the 30th
 July, 1857 ;—“ The attention of Her Majesty’s
 “ Plenipotentiary in China has been drawn to the
 “ subject, and I should be very glad if it were
 “ found practicable to give the Colony the benefit,
 “ under proper conditions, of Chinese industry.”

**Difficulty
 due to
 Legal Defi-
 nition of
 “ Immig-
 rant.”**

A proposal was then made and
 acceded to by the Secretary of State
 that British Guiana should be per-
 mitted to send an agent to China ;
 but delay occurred, and in the mean-
 time Governor Wodehouse, while
 on leave in London during the spring of 1858,

was informed that a certain Parsee gentleman, then resident in England and connected with a wealthy firm in China, would, but for some legal difficulties, make immediate arrangements for shipping Chinese to Demerara. The difficulty which arose was that, whilst the body of law regulating in British Guiana the mutual rights and obligations of employers and immigrants was comprised in Ordinance No 7 of 1854, entitled "an Ordinance for the amendment and consolidation of the laws for the encouragement of immigration and for the general regulation of immigrants," the 62nd or interpretation clause of that Ordinance restricted the term "immigrants" to persons introduced at the public expense. Therefore, as the law stood, no bounty was permitted to be paid on immigrants introduced by a private party at his own expense; that is to say, the importer could not get such immigrants bound under indenture to any estate, or otherwise brought under the control of the immigration law. It is true that there was nothing in the then state of the law to prevent any private person from procuring Chinese immigrants and conveying them to British Guiana at his own cost, provided that he duly fulfilled the requirements of the Chinese Passengers' Act (18 and 19 Vict. C. 104), by which ample security was provided for the safety, health and comfort of the emigrants during their voyage. But, of course, no private person would wish to go this expense unless the Chinese labourers, introduced by him into the Colony, were under valid engagements to work for him for a certain period after arrival; nor (it was generally believed) would Chinese themselves emigrate unless employment was secured to them by some such engagements.

**Colonial
Office
Assents to
Renewal of
Chinese
Immigra-
tion.**

Governor Wodehouse drew Lord Stanley's attention to this matter in a letter dated the 8th March, 1858 ; and Lord Stanley, after consulting the Emigration Commissioners, replied on the 1st April, 1858, as follows :—"The immigration of Chinese into the West Indies is already authorised both by Imperial and Colonial law ; the enactments by which that immigration is regulated, so far as the voyage is concerned, will remain unchanged ; no alteration is sought in the nature of the contracts which have already been allowed in the West India Colonies ; all which the promoters of the scheme ask is that they may not, by importing labourers at their own expense, be excluded from the operation of those rules which have so long and so repeatedly been sanctioned as fit to govern the relations between immigrants and their employers. I think that I cannot err in assenting to so reasonable a request. Where there is no well-founded objection on the ground of security to the immigrant, I am glad to be able to offer to the producers in the West Indies every fair opportunity of endeavouring for themselves to supply the general want of labour." Lord Stanley did not attach to his concession any positive stipulation as to the number of females to be included among the proposed immigrants, because he recognised that the measure was an experiment, which could not be tried if the persons about to enter into expensive contracts for the engagement of shipping were "subjected to a restriction which, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, might operate as a complete prohibition of their undertaking, and thus cause them to forfeit their whole outlay."

"I have taken this course," he wrote, "in the firm belief that the importers themselves, whose success in this particular will be conducive both to their own advantage and to the general interest of the Colony, will spare no endeavour to obtain a suitable proportion of females."

Appointment of Mr. J. G. Austin as Agent in China.

Lord Stanley, however, restricted the duration of his concession to one year, hoping that in the meantime Mr. J. Gardiner Austin, Immigration Agent General of British Guiana, who had been appointed to proceed as the Colony's agent to China and investigate the subject on the spot, would be able to furnish a full report on this aspect of the question.

Ordinance No. 17 of 1858.

It was the opinion both of Governor Wodehouse and the Emigration Commissioners that, if the project were tried, it would be desirable to bring into one Ordinance all the legal enactments affecting Chinese immigrants. The Emigration Commissioners, accordingly, prepared a draft Ordinance, which was approved by Lord Stanley and transmitted by him to Governor Wodehouse, who had meanwhile returned to Demerara. This draft Bill was passed into law by the Court of Policy on the 10th July, 1858, as Ordinance No. 17 of that year entitled "an Ordinance for the encouragement of immigration from China." The preamble recited that it was "expedient to make provision for the introduction into this Colony of Chinese labourers, at the expense wholly or in part of private parties:" and the law provided—

(1) for the repeal of section 14 of Ordinance No. 7 of 1854, which required that contracts made

with Chinese out of the Colony should be executed before a consul, notary or other officer duly authorised by Her Majesty's Government :

(2) that all written contracts for the performance of any labour or service of agriculture made with any Chinese labourer, male or female, who left China or Hongkong between the 10th July, 1858, and the 1st April, 1859, should be binding on the parties thereto for the period named therein, not exceeding five years, to be computed from the day of the landing of such labourer in British Guiana : such contracts to be attested by the emigration officer at the port of embarkation, who should declare that the labourer signed the contract voluntarily with a due understanding of its effect, and to conform to the following conditions, namely :—

(a) the contract to secure to the labourer the right to receive, in lieu of any fixed wages specified therein, the rate of wages which might from time to time be paid to unindentured labourers working on the estate on which he was employed :

(b) the contract to bind the employer to furnish to the labourer, free of charge, suitable lodging, and, when sick, suitable and sufficient medicines, medical attendance and hospital accommodation :

(c) the contract to be terminable by the labourer at the expiration of the third year, on payment to the Immigration Agent General of \$50, or at the expiration of the fourth year on payment of \$25 :

(d) the contract to bind the labourer to repay to his employer, at such rate, not exceeding \$1 a month, as might be determined by the Governor and Court of Policy, such specified

sum, not exceeding \$12, as might have been advanced to him before leaving China :

(e) the contract to be submitted, on the arrival of the labourer to the Immigration Agent General, who, after satisfying himself that it was conformable to the above conditions, would countersign it ; and no contract to be binding on any labourer until so countersigned ;

(3) that, upon the arrival in the Colony of any ship having Chinese labourers on board, the Immigration Agent General and Health Officer of the Port should forthwith proceed on board and ascertain, by personal inspection of the vessel and the passengers, that the provisions of the Chinese Passengers' Act of 1855 had been complied with :

(4) that, if it should be established before any two Justices of the Peace that a Chinese labourer was not provided with sufficient work to enable him to earn a just amount of wages under the terms of his contract, such Justices should declare his contract cancelled ; and that thereupon the Governor should cause such labourer to be indentured to some other employer on the terms as near as might be of the cancelled contract for a period not exceeding the unexpired period of his term of service.

**Emigration
Officers
Appointed
at Hong-
Kong and
at the
Chinese
Treaty
Ports.**

Now, under the 4th Clause of the Chinese Passengers' Act of 1855, no Chinese passenger ship could clear out until she had received certain documents from some person duly authorised to act as an emigration officer. Such an emigration officer had already been appointed by the Hongkong Government ; and in a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated

the 5th June, 1854, Colonel W. Caine, then Lieutenant-Governor of Hongkong, being informed that Mr. J. T. White would not return to China, had offered the services of the Hongkong Emigration Officer to "organize measures for a regular supply to the West India Colonies of Chinese emigrants." Moreover, in 1856, Sir John Bowring had been instructed to appoint the British Consul at Amoy to be an agent for emigration. Lord Stanley now recommended to the Foreign Office "that the consuls at the five ports appointed for their residence by the treaty of 1843 with China, should be formally named by Lord Malmesbury emigration officers, in order to confer upon them the character necessary to enable them to furnish the requisite papers to British ships sailing with Chinese passengers, and further that the consuls should be instructed to give those papers to all British ships duly conforming to the requirements of the Chinese Passengers' Act." The Earl of Malmesbury agreed and sent instructions accordingly to Sir John Bowring in April, 1858.



CHAPTER V.

THE EXPERIMENT OF THE WEST INDIA COMMITTEE (1858-1859).

**Mr.
Gerard
Sent
As Agent
of West
India
Committee
to China.**

All preparations having thus been made, the West India Committee in June, 1858, sent out Mr. Thomas Gerard, a gentleman who had spent some time in China and spoke one of the dialects, as their agent in China, with instructions to send to British Guiana and Trinidad a number not exceeding 2,990 Chinese labourers, of whom 1,470 should be women, if procurable, the cost of introduction being estimated at £20 for each male, and £25 for each female, emigrant. The Committee informed him, in a letter dated 3rd June, 1858, that they had "no objection to a small proportion, equal to 10% each, of boys and girls respectively, boys to be under 15, and girls "under 13." They authorized him to engage such shipping as was required and to guarantee to Chinese immigrants a minimum rate of \$5 a month for an able-bodied man and proportionate rates for women and children. They also handed him a despatch addressed by the Earl of Malmesbury to Sir John Bowring, Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary in China, who was therein desired to give Mr. Gerard, as agent of the West India Committee, letters of introduction to the British Consuls at the five Treaty Ports, from which alone and from Hongkong emigrant-ships were allowed to be cleared.

**Mr. Austin
Sent as Agent
of Government
of British
Guiana
to China.**

Meanwhile the Combined Court had voted a salary of £1,500 per annum, exclusive of travelling expenses, for the payment of an officer to be employed in China for the promotion of emigration to British Guiana, and in a letter dated the 25th May, 1858, the Governor, with the approval of the Secretary of State, offered the appointment to Mr. J. G. Austin, who was then on leave in Europe. Mr. Austin was so well acquainted with the general object of his mission that the Governor thought it unnecessary to furnish him with detailed instructions, but relied upon his "using every exertion to submit for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government such proposals for the establishment of a permanent system of immigration to this Colony, as ought to satisfy the requirements of all reasonable and right-thinking men." "You will bear in mind," the letter of appointment proceeded, "especially that foreign nations now have recourse to Chinese emigration to a great extent, and will probably continue to do so; that, whatever may be the abuses with which their operations are attended, we have no wish to share in them. Above all we desire to secure the introduction of a large proportion of females, and to take care that every emigrant shall leave China with his own free will and with a full knowledge of the terms of his undertaking." Mr. Austin accepted the appointment, with effect from the 1st July, 1858, and reached China early in 1859.

**Irregularities
in Despatch of
the Royal
George.**

Mr. Gerard had, however, in the meantime, already commenced operations by despatching from Hongkong on the 8th December, 1858, the sailing ship *Royal George*, 608 tons,

with 300 Chinese male adults. Unfortunately many irregularities occurred in connexion with the despatch of this vessel. The *Royal George* was measured with especial care in August, 1859, at Liverpool by an officer of the Emigration Commissioners on a principle very minutely considered. As a result the area available for emigrants in the between decks was ascertained to be 2,880 square feet, and on the fore-castle 490 square feet, giving a total measurement of 3,370 square feet. Therefore, the legal number of passengers at 12 feet per adult was in fact $280\frac{1}{2}$. But Mr. G. H. Heaton, the Government Marine Surveyor at Hongkong, in a certificate dated the 20th October, 1858, gave the measurements as 3,279 square feet between decks and 242 square feet on the fore-castle, that is, 3,521 square feet in all, and certified that the number of passengers, exclusive of ship's company, which the vessel could legally carry was 293. The discrepancy in the measurements of the fore-castle is accounted for by the fact that the whole fore-castle was measured at Liverpool, while the Hongkong surveyor only measured that part of it which was devoted to the use of the emigrants. Therefore, assuming that the laxity which prevailed in the measurement of the between decks at Hongkong did not extend to the fore-castle, the total space available for emigrants was 3,122 square feet legally adequate for 260 adults only. Thus Mr. Heaton authorized an overshipment of 33 persons; and for "the carelessness" displayed by him on this occasion he was severely censured by the Duke of Newcastle.

In the next place it is to be noted that, although Mr. Heaton's certificate only authorized the shipment of 293 adults, 300 were in fact shipped on

board the *Royal George*. Mr. Gerard explained this, in a letter dated the 20th July, 1859, by saying that Mr. A. L. Inglis, the Emigration Officer at Hongkong, informed him that according to the regulations, additional cooks would have to be provided to attend on the passengers, these cooks to sign articles and be placed on the ship's books and have space allotted to them as part of the crew during the voyage out. He, therefore, considered it advisable to engage such Chinese cooks as were at the same time willing to contract and remain in British Guiana rather than to engage men whom it would have been necessary to provide with return passages to China at considerable expense and inconvenience. This manœuvre on the part of Mr. Gerard appears to have escaped the notice of Mr. Inglis, who, on the 7th December, 1858, certified the ship as having on board 292 adult male emigrants only.

Finally, although Mr. Gerard had been provided by the West India Committee with the form of contract approved by Lord Stanley and with copies of all laws bearing on the subject of Chinese emigration, he decided from motives of mistaken economy to use up the balance of a stock of contract forms employed Mr. J. T. White, rather than to go to the expense of having new forms printed. Neither did Mr. Gerard follow the procedure prescribed by the British Guiana Ordinance No. 17 of 1858. The contracts signed were in fact altogether at variance with the law. The Ordinance required that the contracts should be attested by the Emigration Officer at the port of embarkation, that is, in this case at Hongkong; but none of the signed contracts were so attested. The Ordinance allowed the labourer to terminate the contract at the end of 3 years: these contracts

gave him the privilege of doing so at the end of one year. The Ordinance required only 7 hours labour *per diem* : these contracts required 9 hours and compelled work on Sundays in case of necessity. The Ordinance stipulated for the payment of the rate of wages paid to unindentured labourers : these contracts fixed the rate of wages with the addition of allowances of food and clothing or more money and a piece of land.

Voyage of the Royal George.	Such were the irregularities which took place before the <i>Royal George</i> left Hongkong. The voyage was not a prosperous one. The ship seems to have arrived at the Cape of
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Good Hope between the 8th and 18th of February without losing more than 8 lives : but at the end of that month, a heavy mortality from dropsy commenced, the result of which was that, when the vessel arrived in Georgetown on the 29th March, 1859, after a voyage of 111 days, the number of deaths had increased to 49. Two more persons died in port and nine others before the 15th April in hospital, making a mortality of 51 (or 17%) on board, and of 60 (or 20%) in all. On learning these facts Governor Wodehouse at once directed the Surgeon General, the Health Officer and Dr. Shier to form themselves into a Board and make a strict inquiry into all the circumstances of the voyage. From their report and that of the Immigration Agent General (Mr. James Crosby) it would seem that the utmost attention was paid by the Captain and Surgeon to the immigrants, that the provisions were good with the single exception of salt fish (which frequently becomes bad while on board), that the labourers were well selected and that the voyage had passed cheerfully and without disputes. The deaths were

ascribed to insufficient ventilation, want of room for exercise, and to a supply of food which was excessive in relation to the previous habits of the people. Of the immigrants landed alive many were fat and dropsical in the feet ; and a still larger mortality would, it was thought, have taken place, if the voyage had been at all prolonged.

**Suggested
Improve-
ments.**

As a result of their enquiries into this matter, Dr. Shier and the Immigration Agent General proposed the use of a steam engine, or some form of pump to be worked by the passengers, in order to force air into certain perforated tubes by which it would be distributed through the ship. This mode of distributing air had long been adopted in ships chartered by the Emigration Commissioners, who, however, reported that the employment of immigrants to pump air into the between decks had been tried, but had been found impracticable from the disinclination of the passengers to work the pump. With regard to the use of steam, the Emigration Commissioners wrote :—" It is our practice to try at the inventor's expense any invention which holds out the promise of advantage to the emigrants ; but we should not feel justified, except under circumstances of peculiar urgency, in spending the public money in such a trial."

Mr. Crosby further suggested that no vessel under 1,000 tons should be employed as an emigrant-ship. On this proposal the Emigration Commissioners remarked :—" As a general rule we believe that the best emigrant-ships are ships of 800 tons and upwards. But we do not think that the experience of the relative mortality in small and large ships would warrant us in laying down a stringent rule on this head. It must

“also be remembered that general inconveniences attach to the shipment of an unmanageably large body of men.”

Mr. Crosby also recommended the disuse of berths, and the Emigration Commissioners agreed that this would probably be an improvement in the Chinese, as in the East Indian, ships. “Much, however,” they added, “depends on the habits of the people, which will be best ascertained by the agent in China.”

Finally, Sir Hercules G. R. Robinson, the Governor of Hongkong, who was disposed to ascribe the heavy mortality in the *Royal George* mainly to the sudden change of the passengers “from a life of labour upon rice diet to one of idleness and comparative high living,” concurred in a suggestion made by Mr. J. G. Austin that the medical officer of the ship, in the exercise of his undoubted right under the law, should be enjoined so to restrict the issue of provisions at the commencement and during the voyage, if necessary, as would tend to the preservation of health, adding that in the case of private individuals, or whenever the provisions were supplied by the ship, it might be necessary to provide that any saving of provisions should be for the benefit of the passengers at the end of the voyage.

**Contracts
of Immigrants
by the Royal
George
regular-
ized.**

The most pressing embarrassment of Governor Wodehouse in connexion with the Chinese immigrants arrived by the *Royal George* was the illegal form of their contracts. He, therefore, sent for some of the most intelligent of the Chinese, who had been in the Colony since 1853, in order that they might explain to their fellow-countrymen the

terms upon which they were themselves employed on the estates, and induce the newly-arrived immigrants to enter into indentures in conformity with the law, in lieu of the agreements which they had signed in China. To this the Chinese readily assented. Fresh indentures were accordingly drawn up and signed: and, as the immigrants remained satisfied with them and the Secretary of State signified his approval of the action taken, an Ordinance (No. 14) was passed by the Court of Policy on the 24th August, 1859, "to render valid the engagements of the Chinese immigrants introduced in the year 1859." The preamble to this law stated that by sections 3 and 6 of Ordinance No. 17 of 1858 it was enacted that the contracts to be entered into in China by the immigrants to be introduced under that Ordinance should be drawn in the manner and form therein set forth; that the Immigration Agent General might make alterations in the said contracts for the purpose of making them conformable to the conditions of the said third section; but that "the contracts actually entered into by the immigrants introduced in this present year were so imperfectly drawn as to render necessary the substitution of new contracts:" and the law itself read as follows;—"Every Chinese immigrant who may have been introduced into this Colony during the present year shall be deemed and taken to have been so introduced in conformity with, and subject to, all the provisions of Ordinance 17 of the year 1858, and the forms of contract adopted by the Immigration Agent General, and signed by him, shall be valid, binding and effectual upon all such immigrants and upon the employers to whom they may have been allotted in

“accordance with the provisions of the above
“recited” Ordinance.”

**Despatch
of the
General
Wyndham.** Meanwhile Mr. Gerard had contrived to despatch from Hongkong on the 15th February, 1859, a second vessel, the *General Wyndham*, 865 tons, with 461 Chinese male emigrants on board. This vessel which is described as “a fine, roomy clipper ship, well ventilated and lighted,” had a superficies of 5,359 feet on the passenger deck, which at 12 feet per adult would have afforded space for 446½ emigrants. But the emigrants put on board in Hongkong were 15 in excess of the legal number. The explanation of this overshipment was, as in the case of the *Royal George*, the fact that the 15 extra persons were placed on board by Mr. Gerard as cooks and were borne on the ship’s articles, a course of proceeding which in the opinion of the Emigration Commissioners approached very nearly to an evasion of the Chinese Passengers’ Act, as it could hardly be doubted that the cooks thus put on board, were, in point of fact, while at sea, berthed and fed with their countrymen and not with the sailors. Mr. J. G. Austin was accordingly instructed by the Secretary to the Commissioners, in a letter dated the 19th December, 1859, that in his own shipments all the emigrants, who, not being actual sailors employed in working the ship, belonged to a class which would render it probable that they would be berthed and fed with the ordinary emigrants, or who had entered into contracts of service with the Emigration Agent, must be considered as “passengers” within the meaning of the Act, whatever might be their ostensible position on board.

Voyage of the General Wyndham. The *General Wyndham* touched at the Cape of Good Hope on the 7th April, 1859, remained there four days, and arrived in Georgetown on the night of the 13th May, 1859, after a voyage of 84 days. There were only 11 deaths during the voyage, one emigrant having died before the ship arrived at the Cape of Good Hope and ten after she left that port. The causes of death were dysentery and dropsy. Five more died in the Georgetown Hospital within ten days after the arrival of the ship and 16 others were then still under treatment in hospital, but likely to recover. The mortality was, therefore, 2.3% during the voyage, or 3.4% including those who died soon after arrival. The good health of the emigrants on board the *General Wyndham*, as compared with those on board the *Royal George*, was attributed to the roominess of the former ship, which was 7ft. 3in. between the decks, to the rapidity of the voyage, which kept the Chinese in good spirits, and to the kind and judicious treatment which the emigrants received from the ship's officers. Mr. Crosby, the Immigration Agent General, who boarded the vessel on arrival, reported that the immigrants "were almost all "in the best health and spirits," and were "a "very fine body of strong, healthy, active, young men."

As in the case of the *Royal George*, so also in the case of the *General Wyndham*, the contracts of service entered into by the immigrants before they left China were illegal, and they had to be similarly corrected. Neither vessel brought any Chinese women or children to the Colony.

**Distribu-
tion of the
Immi-
grants.**

The distribution of the 249 Chinese emigrants landed at Georgetown from the *Royal George* was completed, on the 2nd April, 1859, and was as follows :—The La Grange estate took 15, Haarlem took 21, Windsor Forest 33, Wales 21, Belle Vue 21, Vriesland 20, Stewartville 20, Anna Catharina 27, Leonora 26 ; making a total of 204. Of the remaining 45, nine had died and 35 were still under treatment in the Georgetown Hospital, while one had been retained as interpreter to minister to the wants of the sick. The distribution of the 450 Chinese immigrants landed from the *General Wyndham* was completed on the 23rd May, 1859, and was as follows :—The Hampton Court estate took 68, Better Hope took 66, Enterprise 43, Great Diamond 38, Coffee Grove 33, Enmore 34, Le Ressouvenir 32, Cove and John 22, Chateau Margot 22, Land of Plenty 22, La Belle Alliance 22, Blankenburg 17, Stewartville 10 ; making a total of 429. Of the remaining 21, five had died and 16 were still under treatment at the Georgetown Hospital.

**Mr.
Gerard's
method of
recruiting.**

A point which must not be lost sight of in considering Mr. Gerard's conduct as Emigration Agent is the fact that, although nominally the *Royal George* and the *General Wyndham* were despatched from Hongkong, the emigrants conveyed in both these ships were actually taken from the barracoons at Macao. Mr. Gerard himself supplies evidence on the point in his letter of the 20th July, 1859, in which he complains that the voyage of the *Royal George* " was most unfortunately (and most unnecessarily) prolonged six days by the Governor of Hongkong refusing to

“ permit the Consul at Macao to clear the vessels
 “ from that port, but obliging them to “return to
 “ Hongkong against the monsoon.” Now we
 have a report from Mr. Austin, dated the 8th
 March, 1859, on the barracoons at Macao, in
 which he tells us that he chanced to be at one of
 these establishments when some half-dozen
 “ miserable looking wretches ” had just arrived,
 and that he could not help being struck by “ the
 “ speedy secrecy with which their reception was
 “ attended, the smallest possible portion of the
 “ gate, looking out on a small private pier in the
 “ inner harbour of Macao, being opened hastily
 “ and closed as speedily, whilst the men were
 “ hurried upstairs in charge of a Chinaman, who
 “ appeared so especially anxious to avoid
 “ scrutiny, or so heartily ashamed of what he was
 “ doing,” that Mr. Austin took him at first for a
 delinquent escaping from justice by means of
 emigration.

**Barra-
 coons at
 Macao.**

Mr. Austin was denied admission
 to the first depôt in Macao at which
 he made application, and which he
 described as “ a grim-looking, thick-
 “ walled, heavily barred and well-guarded edi-
 “ fice : ” but he was subsequently most courte-
 ously received by the owner of three of the largest
 establishments and frankly afforded all the
 information he desired. “ These depôts,” he
 writes, “ were all that could be desired as regarded
 “ space, order and cleanliness, and every means
 “ were apparently being adopted to render the
 “ coolies satisfied with their position ; but the
 “ lofty walls and clusters of guards in every
 “ direction told but too truly that the buildings
 “ were but well conducted gaols and the inmates
 “ but hopeless prisoners, shut out from all com-

“munication with friends, and with the heavy
“hand of fate upon them for the future.”

Mr.
Gerard
recalled.

Such being the conditions then prevailing at 'Mácao, it is hardly a matter for surprise that the Governor of Hongkong should have insisted on emigrant-ships, bound for the British West Indies, being examined by his officers at Hongkong before their departure : nor is it surprising that, in view of all the facts, the Colonial Office, the Emigration Commissioners and the Government of British Guiana should have commented very adversely on the manner in which Mr. Gerard had conducted this experiment in Chinese emigration on behalf of the West India Committee. The opinion was expressed that Mr. Gerard ought not to be further employed. He returned to England in July, 1859, and was not again sent out. Moreover, in the meantime the private subscribers, who, under the auspices of the West India Committee, had engaged in this venture, intimated that they were not prepared to carry on the undertaking for another year. The experiment, therefore, came to an abrupt end after one season.



CHAPTER VI.

EMIGRATION SCHEME ORGANISED BY MR. J. G. AUSTIN 1859-1862.

Mr. Austin now remained alone in China as agent for British Guiana, and we at last enter upon the period when Chinese emigration to the West Indies was, for a short time, placed on a regular basis. In order that this might be possible, further legislation in British Guiana was necessary, Lord Stanley having only authorised experimentally for one year the arrangements made by Ordinance No. 17 of 1858.

Accordingly, Governor Wodehouse introduced into the Court of Policy a bill entitled "An Ordinance further to encourage immigration from "China," which passed into law on the 4th February, 1859, as Ordinance No. 1 of that year. The *first* section of this Ordinance simply extended the provisions of Ordinance No. 17 of 1858 to future seasons, thus making it applicable to all Chinese labourers who left Hongkong or China for Demerara after the 1st April, 1859. The *second* section was passed for the purpose of securing the introduction of a certain proportion of females in each year. There was no difference of opinion in the Colony upon the material point that Chinese immigration should not be continued, if women could not be induced to come : and the bill left it to Her Majesty's Government to determine from time to time both the proportion and the manner in which women were to be shipped, namely, either by themselves in one or more

vessels, or distributed (as in the case of East Indians) over all the ships of the season. The *third* section authorised the Governor, pursuant to a resolution adopted by the Combined Court on the 2nd June, 1858, to contribute out of the revenue a sum of \$50 for each adult female introduced into British Guiana. "The establishment in this "Colony," wrote Governor Wodehouse to Sir E. B. Lytton on the 7th February, 1859, "of any "class of immigrants likely to produce a permanent addition to its population is of such general "importance as to render it in my opinion quite "proper for the Government to bear a part of the "heavy outlay which must be incurred. But at "the same time keeping in view the principle, "which I have for some years endeavoured to "enforce, namely, that public money should not "be given for supplying particular individuals "with labour, it is declared by the *fourth* section "that no proprietor of a plantation shall have the "right of compelling any female, who may be "located upon it, to perform any labour. We "propose to locate the females on arrival and to "enforce their residence on particular estates in "the same manner as that of males. The proprietors, no doubt, will derive much benefit from "their services, but they will be at all times free "to work or not at their pleasure."

**Desire of
Combined
Court to
resume
Chinese
Immigration.**

Sir E. B. Lytton replied on the 3rd April 1859 that he was unable to sanction the indefinite extension of the experiment of obtaining Chinese emigrants, but that he had no objection to the passing of an Ordinance continuing for a single season the Ordinance No. 17 of 1858 on the understanding that its ultimate allowance or disallowance would

depend on the result of Mr. Austin's mission. In answer to this despatch Governor Wodehouse wrote on the 10th May 1859 that, as the experiment of carrying on emigration from China at the expense of individual planters had been given up, the Combined Court had expressed an earnest hope that Her Majesty's Government would be pleased to sanction continued emigration during the next season under imperial control ; that he expected to be able to forward by the following mail resolutions of the Court on the subject ; that the Court wished to leave to the Secretary of State the selection of an agent to be employed on behalf of all Colonies joining in the scheme ; and that he had received applications from the proprietors of estates for 2,200 Chinese in the next season. The Duke of Newcastle replied on the 7th July, 1859, that he had consulted the Emigration Commissioners and entirely concurred in their opinion that Mr. Austin should be appointed to act as agent in China, not only for British Guiana, but for such other of the British West India Colonies as might be desirous of obtaining immigrants from China, and that he had informed the Governors of Jamaica and Trinidad accordingly.

**Mr.
Austin
explains
his project
to the
Rev. Mr.
Lobscheid.**

In the meantime the Bishop of Victoria (Hongkong) had referred Mr. Austin to the Reverend Mr. William Lobscheid as a medical missionary well qualified from long residence in China to give valuable information with regard to Chinese emigration, and Mr. Austin had written to this reverend gentleman on the 17th February, 1859, asking for his help especially in "that very important element in any sound system of emi-

gration, namely, a close approximation of the sexes." He explained in his letter :—

" (1) that a depôt would be opened at Hong-kong, for the reception of emigrants offering themselves, where they would be maintained until a ship was ready :

" (2) that a free passage would be given to the West Indies and in return for this every male emigrant would be required to enter into contracts of service for 5 years with the Government, to be worked out on such plantations as might be pointed out :

" (3) that the employment would be chiefly agricultural (cane culture), but during crop time it might be necessary to employ some of the emigrants about the sugar works, or in the transport of canes to the mill, or otherwise as directed :

" (4) that the wages would be \$4 per month with food, house, garden ground and medical attendance, or by the task, the labourer finding his own food ;" that, with the exception of the sugar works, where the wages were two shillings a day, all labourers in British Guiana were then paid by the task, which enabled a healthy and industrious man to earn from three to four shillings a day ; but that the Government was willing to guarantee a specific wage of \$4 monthly, if better understood by the Chinese, with full right to the emigrant to claim and receive the same wages paid to all other labourers whenever he felt disposed to do so :

" (5) that, to the extent of one-half, the wages of an emigrant would be paid monthly at

“ his own request to his parents or relatives
 “ in China, the first payment commencing
 “ from the day of embarkation :

“ (6) that to encourage the emigration of
 “ women and children, a gratuity of \$20 would
 “ be given to every man taking his wife and
 “ \$40 in the event of there being two or more
 “ children :

“ (7) that proper clothing would be supplied
 “ to all emigrants for the voyage.”

Mr. Lobscheid's
 Views.

Mr. Lobscheid, who was then in Hongkong, replied on the 19th February, 1859, that he thought the offer most liberal and that he would be glad to give his name and influence to the undertaking, “doubting not for a moment its success.” He communicated the nature of Mr. Austin's mission to the people connected with him and to Chinese from the adjacent districts on the mainland, and he held out the prospect of getting at least 5,000 married families, who would embark at Hongkong. In order to secure such emigrant families for one or two ships to start with, it would (he wrote) be necessary to prepare and circulate a paper in which the nature of the engagement was explained, with an appendix containing the actual conditions, and further to hire one or two men at \$10 a month to carry these papers to the adjacent country, calling upon such as they knew, and to get those who were willing to circulate the paper to keep in touch with himself and acquaint him with the number of families ready to start. He also suggested that, “there being many young people unable to marry from their poverty, arrangements might be made by the agent thus employed that, on their bringing

"their brides over to Hongkong, the \$20 promised to a married couple should be paid." Too little stress, he thought, had been laid by foreigners on the power of the Christian religion as a means of attaching people to their masters ; and he, therefore, proposed that in every ship there should be sent a native preacher at a monthly salary of \$10, to be increased to \$12, if he behaved well in Demerara. Mr. Lobscheid further urged that provision should be made for the education of children after their arrival in British Guiana, and particularly for the girls, so that should any of them wish to return to China they might be able to teach their own country-women. Finally he remarked that some care should be taken to separate the clans, for example, Hak-ka from Pun-ti,* so as to prevent quarrels in the ship ; that proper means should be adopted for a bath-room for females, entirely separated from the men and properly sheltered ; and that "strict orders must be given to the sailors not to touch females in a joking manner," because the Chinese were "not accustomed to such things and would consider it a gross insult."

Mr.
Austin's
report
to the
Colonial
Office.

Mr. Austin forwarded these letters on the 9th March, 1859 to Mr. H. Merivale, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, suggesting that British Guiana might "be permitted to test the possibility of carrying out views of such exceeding interest to all who, having higher objects in view than the mere shipment to the West Indies of a number of human beings, looked forward to so sound a system of emigration as the means, not only of

* See note on page 14 *supra*.

"relieving distress in China, but of benefiting
 "our Colonies by the transference to them of a
 "hardy, industrious and in time Christian popula-
 "tion." He estimated the entire expense at \$120
per caput, of which \$70 would have to be avail-
 able for expenses in China.

With respect to the emigration system hitherto in operation, Mr. Austin wrote, in a further letter to Mr. Merivale dated the 26th April, 1859, that it had "been simple enough, namely, to
 "purchase able-bodied men from the owners
 "of the barracoons at Macao for the lowest
 "possible price, the means adopted for filling
 "the barracoons being held of no consideration"; that the operations of the collectors or crimps were "most iniquitous"; "that the Govern-
 "ment of Macao, whether urged by dread of
 "the public peace becoming endangered or
 "influenced by fear, mayhap, of public opinion
 "in Europe, had been driven to act energetically
 "by giving liberty to 84 kidnapped persons
 "and by closing the barracoons"; and that
 "public, although irregular, justice had been
 "done by the exasperated Chinese on some of
 "the crimps."

**Diffi-
 culties of
 recruit-
 ing and
 import-
 ance of
 Missionary
 influence.**

But, apart from the prejudice created in the Chinese mind by the mal-practices of crimps and kidnappers, Mr. Austin had to contend with another difficulty. The *very poor* Chinese were not the class suited for emigration to Demerara, for they were not accustomed to work, but lived for the most part on charity, and would only grumble and be dissatisfied when expected to exert themselves. The men required were those

who in their native land had been accustomed to labour, and who at the time of emigrating were actually earning sufficient for their daily food. These latter upon their arrival in the West Indies would 'gladly and willingly work, reflecting credit alike upon themselves' and those who sent them thither. But such men would never come of their own accord to the emigration depôt, because they heard of it only as a certain road to "that bourne from whence "no traveller returns." Absurd as it may appear, it is nevertheless true that many Chinese peasants actually believed that the coolies upon their arrival in a foreign land were made into opium; and, when the demand for female emigrants began, it was added that the women were needed to gratify the lusts of the debased foreigner. The prejudices of this peasant class could only be overcome by a kind of systematic domiciliary visitation. Pamphlets were of little use. For example, it was reported by Mr. James Jones in December, 1861, that in nine villages containing a population of 9,300 people, situated near Tat-hao-p'u,* of which place he was sub-agent, there was no school and no teacher, and that those who could possibly know anything of emigration by reading might be reckoned by units: also that in nine other villages with an aggregate population of 36,500 there were only 13 teachers, and that in Tat-hao-p'u itself there were but 20 teachers, to a population of 40,000. It was suggested that any persons not able to read could always get

* 達豪堡, a camp (*ying*) near Ch'ao-yang: (潮陽), the latter being a district town in the Ch'ao-chou prefecture (see p. 40 *supra*): Lat. 23°, 22' N., Long. 116°, 41' E.

the pamphlets explained to them by a village teacher. But the Chinese *literati* were for the most part opposed to emigration because of their strict adherence to the principles of Confucius, who upheld and enforced the worship of ancestors. They said that those who left the country must necessarily neglect their duties in this respect; and, therefore, the explanation of any treatise on emigration, as given by a village teacher, would be likely to assume anything but the proper meaning. The native emigration agents themselves belonged to the lettered class; and, while they would of course, speak favourably of emigration by reason of the dollars they received, the peasants would easily perceive the difference between a man who advocated the scheme knowing it to be good and another who only applauded it because of the pecuniary advantage he derived. It was for this reason that the missionary influence was so important to Mr. Austin: and, apart from these considerations, owing to the baneful effects of civil and foreign war, then raging in South China, as well as to the odium attached to the slave trade, no native agent would have had the courage to go into any village for the purpose of inducing the peasant class to emigrate.

At this point it is desirable to recall the fact that from the 5th January, 1858, to the 21st October, 1861, the City of Canton was under a provisional Government of which the British Consul, Mr. Harry Parkes, was a member, and that the Kuang-tung province was dominated by the allied British and French armies. In these circumstances, during April, 1859, three important proclamations were made public throughout Kuang-tung.

**Pro-
clamations
issued (a)
by the Can-
ton Magis-
trates.**

The first, dated the 6th April, 1859, was issued by the two district magistrates of Canton, and, after denouncing crimps and kidnaping, proceeded as follows:—"If, after "the date of this proclama-
"tion, foreigners continue to hire the people
"or engage labourers for service in foreign
"countries, let all those who are disposed
"to go be careful to ascertain whether the
"offers made them are *bona fide*, and that
"they are not exposing themselves to the kid-
"nappers' designs; let them arrive at a dis-
"tinct understanding as to the rate of remunera-
"tion, the period for which they are to be
"engaged, the place to which they are to
"proceed, and whether they will be able,
"when absent, to communicate with, or remit
"money to, their families or friends; and let
"a special contract containing all these condi-
"tions be drawn up, which can be recorded
"in proof of the agreement. When both
"parties have given their consent, there is
"then no objection to your going with the
"foreigners."

**(b) By
Allied Com-
manders.**

The second proclamation, dated the following day, was of similar effect and was issued by the Allied Commanders, namely, Major-General Straubenzee, commanding Her Britannic Majesty's troops in China, d'Aboville, *commandant supérieur* of the French forces at Canton, and McCleverty, senior British naval officer at Canton.

(c) By
Governor
General
Po Kuei.

The third proclamation, dated the 9th April, 1859, was issued by Po Kuei,* Governor General of Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi provinces, and recited that:—"Wherever in the province of Kuang-tung mercantile classes are found mingled with the people, a densely crowded population is the result. Among them may be found those who are compelled by want to search for a living wherever they can obtain it; while others, in order to drive a trade, quit for a time their homes and cross the seas; or, accepting the employment offered by foreigners, obtain by going abroad a profitable remuneration for labour. Permission for their doing so should not, it is clear, be withheld in any of these cases, provided the parties themselves really consent to the arrangements." Then followed a long denunciation of the traffic known as "the sale of little pigs," that is kidnapping, and a warning to crimps of the pains and penalties to which they were liable.

Help
given by
Mr. Parkes.

These proclamations were issued in consequence of the atrocities practised by the Chinese agents employed in supplying the market at Macao for the export of labourers; but they are chiefly interesting as containing explicit recognition of an open and honest system of emigration by the Governor General and the Local Authorities of the Kuang-tung province. It is not difficult to trace in this action the hand of Mr. Parkes, by whom the Chinese proclamations were translated into English. In fact Mr. Austin wrote

* 栢 貴

from Canton on the 27th October, 1859 :—" I
 " have not only obtained a confirmation of Po
 " Kuei's proclamation legalizing emigration from
 " the present Governor-General of the province,
 " but have also received an intimation from
 " His Excellency that he will give the aid of
 " the Chinese authorities in carrying my plans
 " into execution. For this most important aid
 " and protection I am indebted to Mr. Parkes ;
 " and, as he is taking the warmest and most
 " active interest in all my measures, I hope ere
 " many days elapse to have fairly entered in
 " the contest of free emigration *versus* kidnapping
 " and slavery."

**Con-
firmatory
Proclama-
tion by
Governor-
General.**

The confirmatory proclamation here referred to, was issued on the 28th October, 1859, by Lao Ch'ungkuang,* acting Governor General of the provinces of Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi and ran as follows :—" It
 " has been formally intimated to me by the Allied
 " Commissioners that the British Government
 " have sent an authorised agent to these pro-
 " vinces to establish an emigration house for the
 " reception of emigrants for the British West
 " Indies. To this end it is proposed that those
 " Chinese who wish to obtain employment in
 " the said Colonies should go to the emigration
 " house and there negotiate for themselves all the
 " conditions of service as well as their exact desti-
 " nation, and that these conditions, when accepted
 " by both parties, should be recorded in a formal
 " contract and joint inquiry be held by the foreign
 " agent and a Chinese officer specially deputed

* 勞崇光 : see Giles' *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*,
 p. 416,

" for the purpose, in order that the circumstances
 " of each case may be clearly ascertained and
 " thus all the abuses attendant on kidnapping
 " may be eradicated. I am also requested by the
 " Allied Commissioners to issue a proclamation
 " on the subject. I have accordingly directed the
 " Financial and Judicial Commissioners of Kuang-
 " tung to communicate the establishment of these
 " arrangements to all their respective subordinate
 " authorities and to require them to make the
 " same everywhere known by proclamation ; and
 " the said Commissioners will also see that the
 " co-operation of the Chinese officers with the
 " foreign emigration agents is duly provided for.
 " And, in addition to the above, I also myself
 " proclaim these measures to the poorer classes
 " in all places for their information. Let it be
 " known by you all that those who desire of their
 " own will to go abroad and seek employment in
 " foreign lands should proceed themselves to the
 " emigration houses and there make a clear
 " report, when the Chinese officer and the emigra-
 " tion agent will carefully examine the applicants
 " and thus ascertain whether they are indeed
 " voluntary emigrants, and not victims to the
 " crafty designs of the kidnappers. This having
 " been clearly proved, they may then negotiate
 " together the terms of service of their future
 " destination and record these in a formal con-
 " tract."

Scheme
 prepared
 by Mr.
 Austin.

Mr. Austin's venture thus com-
 menced under the fairest auspices.
 He had secured the co-operation of
 the missionaries, of the Hongkong
 Government, of the Allied Com-
 manders, of the Allied Commissioners, and of the
 Chinese provincial authorities. It only remained

to use this unique opportunity to the best advantage ; and in Mr. Austin's letter of the 26th April, 1859, to which reference has previously been made, the following proposals were submitted :—

(1) that emigration from China to the British West Indies should be under one system and for the time being at all events under one head, namely, an officer appointed by Her Majesty's Government with collecting agents to assist him, corresponding in number to the places at which depôts might be fixed. "I would urge," wrote Mr. Austin, "that it is all important that there should be no rivalries—no competing between different Colonies. Confidence we must acquire, and that can only be secured by unity of action."

(2) that there should be a central depôt at Hongkong under the direct superintendence of the Chief Agent and similar establishments at Canton (or Whampoa,* if judged more eligible by the Consul) and Swatow. In respect to the depôts at Canton and Swatow, Mr. Austin remarked that exception might be taken whilst operations were confined to British Guiana, on the ground of expense ; but he urged that, with many prejudices to be overcome from late irregularities, and in view of the difficulty of obtaining women in any numbers from one locality, a wide basis of operations was essential. The depôts would be but temporary matsheds, or humble buildings temporarily hired, and all the other arrangements would be conducted with the utmost economy. The establishments

* More correctly written Huang-pu 黃埔 : it is close to Canton and is one of the ports open to foreign trade : Lat. 23°, 5' N. ; Long. 113°, 27' E.

at Canton and Swatow would have the British flag flying over them and a Chinese inscription on the gateway to the effect that the premises belonged to the British Government and were for the reception of emigrants offering their services for the West Indies ;

(3) that notice of the opening of the depôts at Canton and Swatow should be given through the Consuls at those ports to the Chinese magistrates with an intimation that they would be open at all reasonable hours to the inspection of the magistrates and to all Chinese having an order from the Magistrates ;

(4) that copies of the Government notice concerning emigration to the West Indies, which it was proposed to circulate through the villages, should be handed to the respective British consuls and Chinese magistrates, and be further made public by being affixed to the gate-posts of the depôts ;

(5) that notice of the reception of any emigrant into the depôt should be given to the Chinese magistrates within 48 hours ; and that 48 hours' notice of an intention to remove any emigrants from the depôts to the ships should be given to the British Consuls and the Chinese magistrates ;

(6) that special agents should be employed for circulating the Government notices through the villages ; that such "agents should be remunerated for this special service by the job or month, their zeal and activity being stimulated only by the possible continuance of their engagements and not, as in the case of the crimps, by a sum *per caput* ;" and that all

advances should be made direct at the depôts in cash to the parties entitled thereto;

(7) that the Chief Agent should not be bound to any specific number of females, but that he should be directed to hold out every inducement likely to secure the emigration of women and children : and in this connexion Mr. Austin proposed that female emigrants should be immune from all contract. "The entire freedom of the women," he wrote, "I look upon as an absolute necessity. They will be industrious because their husbands will require it, and because their inclinations and habits will prompt them to aid their husbands, when household duties are performed ; and this, I think, should content all who desire to aid in, and expect to be benefitted by, a sound system of colonization."

Mr.
Austin
suggests
uninden-
tured emi-
gration.

In furtherance of the same idea Mr. Austin held out hopes of instruction for the young, and proposed that special means of remitting money and of corresponding with relations should be provided. Finally, in the concluding paragraphs of his letter, he threw out for the consideration of the Government of British Guiana a suggestion that there should be no contract at all, but that the Colony should offer absolute freedom as a set off to the gold offered by the slave-holders of Cuba, that, in fact, emigrants should only be "required to be under term or annual hiring, as in Scotland, during their period of service. There are," he wrote, "many difficulties I am aware in the way of this plan, anxious as the Government of British Guiana has long since been to remove the burden of emigration from the public chest ; but both

“ objects could be secured, I apprehend, by a tax to
 “ be paid by employers for the services of all emi-
 “ grants working with them, who had not comple-
 “ ted the term of industrial service as defined by
 “ law.”

**Resolu-
 tions of
 Combined
 Court.**

Meanwhile, on the 13th May, 1859, the Combined Court, upon the motion of Mr. Jones, seconded by Mr. Allen, adopted the seven following resolutions :—

“ 1. That this Court is of opinion that it is
 “ highly desirable that arrangements should be
 “ made, under the control of Her Majesty’s
 “ Government, for the introduction, year by
 “ year, of a reasonable number of immigrants
 “ from China.

“ 2. That this Court is further of opinion that
 “ such immigration can only be advocated on
 “ the supposition that a proportionate number
 “ of females can be induced to resort to the
 “ West Indies; and, having reason to believe
 “ that this object can be attained, they would
 “ leave it in the hands of Her Majesty’s Govern-
 “ ment to determine the number of females to
 “ be introduced in each year.

“ 3. That this Court is further of opinion that
 “ this immigration can be most economically
 “ and efficiently carried on by the establishment
 “ in China of such depôts as may be necessary
 “ on the joint account of all the West India
 “ Colonies, which may be prepared to join in
 “ the undertaking; and that the operations
 “ should be conducted by agents to be appoint-
 “ ed by the Secretary of State for the service of
 “ all these colonies: that the salaries of these

“ agents and the cost of the first establishment
 “ of any depôt should be paid by all the colonies
 “ interested in proportions to be fixed by the
 “ Secretary of State, and that all other expenses
 “ incurred in China should be divided in pro-
 “ portion to the number of immigrants sent to
 “ each Colony in each year.

“ 4. That the Governor be requested to com-
 “ municate without loss of time with the Gover-
 “ nors of Jamaica and Trinidad, and to invite
 “ the co-operation of these colonies in the pro-
 “ posed arrangement.

“ 5. That this Court believes that 2,000
 “ Chinese might be advantageously introduced
 “ into British Guiana in each year for a series
 “ of years.

“ 6. That this Court considers that the whole
 “ cost of the voyage from China to British
 “ Guiana, where it does not exceed \$70 *per*
 “ *capita*, should be defrayed by the planters ;
 “ and that all the expenses to be incurred in
 “ China, and any additional cost of passage over
 “ \$70, should be defrayed out of the Colonial
 “ revenues.

“ 7. That a loan should be raised under the
 “ guarantee of the Colony for the purpose of
 “ enabling the planters to spread the payment
 “ of their liabilities over a term of five years.”

Next day two more resolutions were adopted
 by the Combined Court, namely :—

“ 8. For the payment of the expenses to be
 “ incurred in China, as well as any cost of
 “ passage over \$70 *per caput*, the Court pledges
 “ itself, in the event of Her Majesty’s Govern-
 “ ment sanctioning immigration in the manner

“ proposed, to provide the necessary revenue,
 “ and to sanction and make good any advances
 “ that the Governor may find it necessary to
 “ make, for the purpose of giving effect to the
 “ preceding resolutions.

“ 9. That the Governor and Court of Policy
 “ be requested to give effect to the preceding
 “ resolutions by legislation, and otherwise, in
 “ such manner as to them may appear expedient.

**Criticism
by Emigration
Commissioners.** Governor Wodehouse forwarded these resolutions, in a despatch dated 21st May, 1859, to the Duke of Newcastle, who referred the whole correspondence received on the subject from China and from British Guiana to the Emigration Commissioners. Mr. T. W. C. Murdoch replied on behalf of the Commissioners, in letters dated the 16th and 22nd July, 1859, that Mr. Austin's proposals appeared to be entirely conformable with the resolutions recently adopted by the Combined Court, but that a few points needed special attention, namely :—

(1) the proportion of women. The number, Mr. Murdoch thought, in the first instance could not be otherwise than small, probably not exceeding 10 or 15% : and he, therefore, advised that it would be better to leave the exact proportion to be settled by Mr. Austin, with the approval of Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary in China, Mr. F. W. A. Bruce, who had already expressed his concurrence in Mr. Austin's scheme, it being clearly understood that, unless there was a prospect of obtaining a fair proportion of females in future years, the emigration could not be continued.

(2) Another question was whether the women should be sent in the same ships as the men; and, if so, what precautions were to be taken against fighting and disturbance on their account. This matter, Mr. Murdoch thought, could only be settled on the spot and by those acquainted with the Chinese character.

(3) It was necessary to determine the expense to be incurred for the collection and dispatch of the emigrants. "The Combined Court propose," wrote Mr. Murdoch, "that the sum to be paid by the planter should be \$70, and that all expenses beyond that sum should be paid by the public. The limit fixed by the proprietors, who last year sent out Mr. Gerard, was, for procuring and landing the immigrants, £25, equal at 4s. 9d. the dollar to \$105.26; while the actual expense of the emigration to Cuba, including the commission of the merchant employed, was stated by Mr. Still* at \$125, or £29. 13s. 9d. In Mr. Austin's letter of 8th March last the cost of emigration from Macao to Cuba, including an advance of \$12 and agencies \$18, was put at \$180. The cost of procuring emigrants now that the emigration has been legalized by the Chinese authorities will probably be reduced; and I would, therefore, submit that the cost to be incurred by Mr. Austin, exclusive of his own salary and of advances to the emigrants to be recovered from their wages, should not exceed \$125."

* *Vide* Land Board report to Colonial Office of 10th July, 1858.

**The
Secretary
of State
approves,
but draws
attention
to five
points.**

Subject to these remarks, Mr. Murdoch submitted that Mr. Austin should be authorised at once to make preparations for an emigration to British Guiana during the next season of 2,200 male adults, with the largest number of women that he could procure. The Duke of Newcastle concurred and authorised the Emigration Commissioners "to instruct Mr. Austin to take "the preliminary steps for setting this emigration "on foot on the conditions he had proposed, and "for the sending to British Guiana, in accordance "with the wishes of the Combined Court, 2,200 "male adults during the present Season." But in despatches to Governor Wodehouse, covering the whole correspondence and dated the 30th June and 15th August, 1859, His Grace specially adverted to five points :—

(1) With regard to the proportion of females he wrote :—"I am of opinion that a minimum "of 10% must be required for the present "season, and that as to future years the same "proportion must be required as in the case of "East Indian emigrants, namely, for the seasons "of 1860-1 and 1861-2 not less than one female "to three males, and for subsequent years not "less than one female to two males."

(2) As regards the proportion of the cost of introduction to be borne by the planters, the Duke of Newcastle was not prepared to assent to the resolution of the Combined Court that, where the cost of the voyage did not exceed \$70 *per capita*, it should be defrayed by the planters and that all expenses incurred in China and any additional cost of passage beyond the \$70 should be defrayed out of the Colonial

revenues. "I do not object," he wrote, "to a proportion of such cost being defrayed from general revenues, as it may fairly be considered that the general prosperity of the Colony is promoted by the introduction of immigrant labour : and, although it is possible that the sum of \$70 may bear a large proportion to the total cost of introduction, I am of opinion that the proportion should be determined according to some fixed principle of apportionment. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that, taking into consideration the benefit derived by the planter on the one hand and by the general community on the other, the planter may justly be called upon to bear two-thirds of the whole cost of introduction, the remaining one-third forming a charge on the general revenues of the Colony. This proportion is larger than that which the planter might be called upon to pay under the resolution of the Combined Court, but I have nevertheless not hesitated to sanction the commencement of the emigration at once, feeling assured that the local legislature will be ready to give effect to these views in framing the laws required for giving legal sanction to the scheme of emigration."

His Grace also doubted (3) whether any additional bonus should be given on large families of children, which were usually a fertile source of mortality on a long voyage, and generally, therefore, to be discouraged : (4) whether the proposal of a native preacher might not import a fresh element of difficulty by causing disputes while at sea : and (5) whether it would not be advisable that the conditions of Chinese immigration should *mutatis mutandis* be the same

as those applicable to East Indians, and in particular that females as well as males should be indentured.

**Decision of
the Court
of Policy
on these
points.**

The Court of Policy shared the doubts of the Duke of Newcastle on the last three points. With respect to the introduction of children in a greater proportion than was absolutely necessary for ensuring the success of the scheme, the Court believed that, apart from the increase of mortality which was to be apprehended from their presence during the voyage, there would necessarily be a great increase in expenditure with but a very small immediate return for it. If these children were to be introduced entirely at the public expense, it might have been said that in course of time, as they grew up, the Colony would be compensated for the cost of their introduction. But in the proposed scheme the whole freight was payable by the planters, to whom the immigrants were allotted on arrival; and, therefore, in the case of young boys and girls the five years' indenture of their parents would expire before the labour of the children could be of any value.

The Court did not favour the employment of native preachers, but concurred in the propriety of placing Chinese and East Indian immigrants on the same footing. Mr. Austin had suggested that only the males should be indentured. It was, however, pointed out that, whether the females were indentured or not, they must be compelled by law to remain on the estates to which their husbands were allotted, and that there could be little doubt, from the description given of them, that these women would be very useful labourers. But, if the females were not indentured, the

planters could not with any justice be called upon to pay for their passages, and the charge upon the Colonial revenue would be exceedingly heavy.

Subject to these observations, the Court of Policy approved of the scheme submitted by Mr. Austin and authorized advances to him at a rate not exceeding \$70 for each adult, in addition to the cost of the establishment of the necessary depôts. Governor Wodehouse, in a despatch dated the 8th August, 1859, communicated the decisions of the Court to the Duke of Newcastle: and in a subsequent despatch, dated the 23rd of the following month, he reported that, having made inquiry whether the proprietors, who had applied for immigrants on the terms previously proposed, were willing to adhere to their applications in view of the Secretary of State's decision that they must bear two-thirds of the cost of introduction, he had been requested by the proprietors to instruct Mr. Austin not to ship more than the equivalent of 1,900 adults in the present season. He further stated that no time would be lost in submitting to the Court of Policy an Ordinance for legalizing this emigration, as well as for raising a loan similar to the existing Indian Immigration Loan Ordinance (No. 6 of 1859).

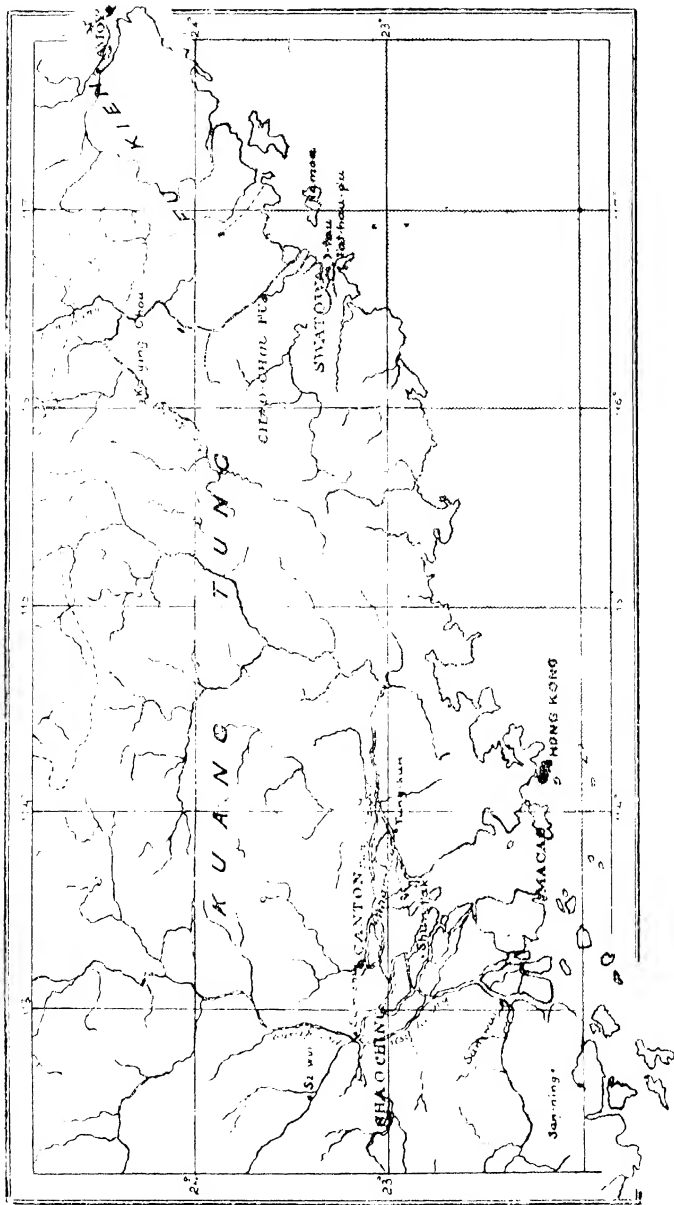
Observations of Governor Wodehouse.

Governor Wodehouse was also anxious that, while it was still uncertain if the other West India Colonies would join British Guiana in this undertaking, no depôts should be established at Canton or Swatow and no subordinate agents employed there, unless in Mr. Austin's opinion they were indispensable. He did not oppose Mr. Austin's suggestion that the Chinese immigrant, although entering into a

contract for five years, should be allowed to release himself from his indenture at the end of the first year by repayment of four-fifths of the passage money from China to the West Indies and by proportionate payment at the end of subsequent years; but he was quite unable to fall in with Mr. Austin's proposal that the immigrants should on their arrival be required only to come under annual hirings. "No one," he wrote, "can be surprised that immigrants of every description, while undergoing the process of acclimatization and instruction in our modes of labour during the first year, must be both a source of expense, while in hospital, and comparatively of little value, while at work. How, then, can it be expected that any planter will subject himself to all this loss and trouble in the face of the probability that the labourer, whom he has trained and nursed will be enticed away as soon as he becomes really valuable? There can be no doubt that it is for the benefit of the immigrant himself that his employer should feel secure of retaining his services for some period sufficient to yield an adequate return for the trouble and outlay first incurred. In a political point of view also, I look upon it as highly desirable that the Government should possess that amount of control over a people of such a character which is inseparable from the system of indentures."

Arrangements for financing the Chinese emigration.

Meanwhile the Emigration Commissioners had authorised Mr. Austin to incur an aggregate expenditure of \$145 *per caput* (or \$125 exclusive of \$20 for advances and gratuities) during the season 1859-60 and had furnished him with a form of Charter Party to be used in this emigration, in which the



RECRUITING CENTRES FOR BRITISH GUIANA IN SOUTH CHINA

freight of the ship was made payable in the same manner and on the same conditions as in the Indian emigration ; but, in directing Mr. Austin to take the necessary steps for setting on foot this Chinese emigration, they did not attempt to furnish him with any specific instructions, feeling that in an experiment so novel in its nature, it was better not to attempt to interfere with his discretion on points on which he had better means than they had of forming a judgment.

With the approval of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, temporary arrangements were made for financing Mr. Austin's operations by advances from the funds of the Hongkong Government ; but by the end of the year 1859 a remittance of £6,000 was made to Mr. Austin from British Guiana through Messrs. Prescott, Grote, Cave and Company, who were requested by Governor Wodehouse to make such permanent arrangements for the future as would obviate the necessity for any further advances from the Hongkong Treasury. It must be remembered that in 1859 Hongkong was a Colony not yet twenty years old, with a total population of 86,941 souls and a revenue of £65,225, and that only five years had passed since the time when an annual Imperial subsidy was necessary for the purpose of enabling the Hongkong Government to balance its budget.

<p>Mr. Austin opens Depôts at Hongkong and Canton.</p>	<p>Mr. Austin received in October, 1859, the directions of the Emigration Commissioners to take the necessary steps for setting on foot an emigration from China to British Guiana on the basis of the scheme which he had proposed in April of that year, and</p>
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he reported on the 27th of that month, that he had obtained a licence from the Governor of Hong-kong to occupy temporarily a very eligible site for a depôt, and had caused some inexpensive bamboo sheds to be erected there for the accommodation of such emigrants as might be sent in by the missionaries and other emissaries employed by the Rev. Mr. Lobscheid. In November a similar depôt was opened in Canton and placed in charge of Mr. T. Sampson, who had for two years previously been cashier and chief clerk in the Allied Commissioners' Yamên. Mr. Parkes took a personal interest in the enterprise and wrote to Mr. Austin on the 12th November, 1859 :—" I thought "I might do some good by visiting your emigration house yesterday in a way that would attract attention. So I got 'Howqua'* and others of the gentry and the deputy Magistrate, who is appointed to the Chinese part of the superintendence, to meet me there, and to call in the Kai-fong,† or principal men of the neighbourhood,—men who have a voice in the municipal arrangements of that quarter,—and to them I introduced Mr. Sampson, described the character of the establishment, the object in view, etc.,

* 伍怡和 Ng Yi-wo, lived A.D. 1769-1843 : went to Canton in his youth and rose to be senior member of the "hong merchants," or intermediaries under the old system between the Chinese officials and foreign traders. He amassed a fortune estimated at about £4,000,000. He was much esteemed by all foreigners, to whom he was popularly known as 'Howqua' (probably a corruption of the Amoy pronunciation of Ng Kuan, it being an Amoy custom to affix the latter character, meaning "officer," to the names of officials and persons of rank). After his death the soubriquet was passed on to his heirs. His personal name survives in *E-wo*, the Chinese style of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Coy. See Giles' *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 884-6.

† 街方

“and told them that we looked to them to further
 “these objects by all the means in their power.
 “The utmost we can expect from them, of course,
 “is their good will ; but this is of value, as we
 “must remember that all the antecedents of emi-
 “gration have so prejudiced the popular mind
 “that it requires a good deal of fair argument and
 “explanation to induce them to regard favourably
 “or without suspicion any scheme of the kind.
 “As I had feared, some of the Chinese speak of
 “it as a plan to get coolies for the coming hostili-
 “ties, and your prospectus has been torn down in
 “many places. I have an idea, however, that this
 “is being done by the kidnappers, who naturally
 “neither like to see themselves denounced nor
 “the prospect of having their ill-gotten gains
 “interfered with. ‘Howqua’ assures me that it
 “will be a success and that you will get many
 “applicants from among the rural population as
 “soon as they understand the matter. I am
 “doing all I can to ensure the circulation of your
 “prospectus and the other papers—everything
 “depends upon this. One thousand copies of the
 “former have been distributed and the subject is
 “now well-known throughout Canton. There
 “was, as I wrote you, a sort of formal opening of
 “the premises yesterday, and the same morning I
 “notified this throughout the place by sticking up
 “a fresh notice in your name saying that you
 “were now prepared to receive emigrants.”

**First
 mention
 of Rear-
 Admiral
 Hope.**

At this point it is also interesting to
 note the first mention, in a letter
 from Mr. Austin, dated the 28th
 November, 1859, of the “very im-
 “portant countenance and help”
 which he received from Rear-Admi-
 ral Hope, who procured the release of one of Mr.

Austin's Chinese Christian emissaries from a set of lawless vagabonds in the Canton River delta. The Chinese settlement subsequently formed on the West bank of the Demerara River, where the Kamuní creek falls into it, was called Hopetown in commemoration of the visit, which Sir James Hope paid to it at a later date.

Mr.
Austin's
first
season
(1859-60);
voyage of
the Whirl-
wind.

In December, 1859, all preliminary arrangements were at last completed; and on the 24th of that month Mr. Austin despatched from Hongkong the clipper ship *Whirlwind*, 978 tons, with 304 men, 56 women, 7 boys, 4 girls and one infant, that is a total of 372 souls, equal to 365½ statute adults, the vessel being certified as capable of conveying 377 statute adults. The *Whirlwind* touched at the Cape of Good Hope on the 4th February, 1860, remained there till the 9th *idem* and reached Georgetown late in the afternoon of the 11th March, 1860, after a very favourable voyage of 78 days. Not a single death occurred on board and all the emigrants arrived, with two or three trifling exceptions, in perfect health and spirits. Thus the first Chinese women and girls landed in Georgetown seven years after the arrival of the first Chinese men and boys.

Mr. Crosby went on board the *Whirlwind* as soon as she came to anchor and found the ship in admirable order, and her arrangements most complete and satisfactory. The passengers' deck was divided into three separate compartments. The single male immigrants from Canton occupying one portion, the single male immigrants from Hongkong occupying a second portion, and the married immigrants with their families the remain-

ing portion, which latter portion was so subdivided that each family had a separate berth, and was so constructed as to admit of as free a circulation of air as possible, and in each of these berths the family enjoyed a very considerable amount of comfort and convenience. The ventilation was carefully attended to; and, in addition to the Surgeon Superintendent, the ship carried a Chinese medical practitioner and his family. All the immigrants possessed trunks well filled with many personal comforts, and Mr. Crosby reported them to be "a very fine body of people and apparently" of a very much superior class of persons to any of "those who have been hitherto introduced into the "Colony." They were distributed to the estates, from which applications had been received; and Governor Wodehouse wrote, in a despatch dated the 22nd March, 1860, that they appeared "to be perfectly cheerful and contented with their "prospects." The rate payable by Charter Party was \$55 for each statute adult landed alive; and, including some other small items, Mr. Crosby certified that the total amount due to the commander and owners of the *Whirlwind* was \$20,984.16.

Statistics of the Season 1859-60. It would be tedious, and serve no useful purpose, to describe in detail each of the voyages made by the emigrant-ships despatched by Mr. Austin from China to British Guiana.

The detailed statistics are, however, appended in Table I, from which it will be seen that during the season 1859-60, Mr. Austin sent, in addition to the *Whirlwind*, five more ships from Canton and Hongkong to Demerara. An analysis of the figures shows that there embarked upon these six ships 1,563 men, 305 women, 53 boys, 26 girls and 17 infants, and that there landed in Georgetown

1,549 men, 298 women, 53 boys, 26 girls and 18 infants. The allotment of the immigrants on arrival is shown in Table III. It appears that no boys, girls or infants died during the voyage; that one infant was born during voyage of the *Dora*; that of 1,964 souls shipped 1,943 were landed alive, that is, an average mortality of 1.01%; that, the mortality among the men was 0.89% and among the women 0.12%; that, exclusive of infants, 1,602 men and boys were landed at Georgetown and 324 women and girls, making the proportion of females 20.2%, that is twice as large as the 10% minimum stipulated for by the Duke of Newcastle. It will also be observed that during this season two ships—the *Whirlwind* and the *Thomas Mitchell*—made the voyage from China to British Guiana without the loss of a single life among the emigrants, a performance which I regret to record was not repeated by any vessel in the subsequent seasons. Lastly it should be observed that, whereas the planters had indented for 2,200 Chinese male adults during the season, an indent subsequently reduced to 1,900, Mr. Austin actually sent 1,964 Chinese of whom 1,563 were male adults. He would have shipped the full complement but for a misunderstanding as to the first clause of the form of Charter Party, sent to him by the Emigration Commissioners, which Mr. Austin read as an instruction not to send more than 350 statute adults by any ship, whereas the Commissioners explained that this clause was not intended to impose any such obligation upon the emigration agent, but was inserted because the Calcutta agent found it inconvenient to embark more than 350 statute adults at a time, and it was, therefore, necessary to protect the Government from being called upon to pay for more than that number.

Mr. Austin, after the close of the emigration season, returned to England in May, 1860, for a few months holiday. His experiment had been signally successful, but he had been compelled throughout to act in advance of instructions from Georgetown and London ; and it's necessary now to turn back to consider the steps taken by the Government of British Guiana to legalize what was being done.

Ordinance The Court of Policy on the 3rd
No. 1 of January, 1860, passed an Ordinance,
1860. the first of that year, "to amend and
 "consolidate certain of the regula-
 "tions relating to immigrants." This bill was in-
 troduced and passed with three main objects,
 namely, (a) to consolidate several small Ordinances
 passed since the enactment of the fundamental
 law No. 7 of 1854, (b) to make legal provision for
 the conduct of Chinese immigration, and (c) to
 amend and simplify the rules which governed the
 distribution and re-indenturing of, and the pay-
 ment of bounty to, immigrants of various classes
 as well as the payments becoming due from em-
 ployers, to whom the immigrants were at different
 times and in different circumstances brought
 under indenture. The first section repealed pre-
 vious enactments. The four next sections regu-
 lated the introduction of Chinese. Sections 6 to 24
 inclusive provided for the *original* allotment of all
 immigrants and regulated the financial arrange-
 ments for every description of immigrant in re-
 spect to his *first* period of industrial residence.
 Sections 25 to 32 regulated the payment of bounty
 to all immigrants willing to enter into agreements
 for a *second* or *other* term of industrial residence,
 and the repayments by the employers to whom
 they might be indentured. Sections 33 to 45 con-

tained the rules by means of which it was proposed that the Immigration Agent General and the planters should give effect to the previous provisions during the periodical tours of inspection which it was the duty of the former to make through the Colony twice in each year. By the remaining sections, provision was made for the legal recovery of all sums due to the Colony, for the protection of lessees of estates, and for other matters. The 57th section declared that the un-repealed sections of Ordinance No. 7 of 1854 should be construed as one Ordinance with the new law, thus bringing all the immigration machinery within the control of those two Ordinances, the former of which comprised all the rules for the management of the immigrant while resident in British Guiana, whereas the latter governed all the financial transactions connected with him.

Reasons for amending Ordinance No. 1 of 1860. In Schedule A of this Ordinance was set out the form of contracts with Chinese labourers : but the contracts drawn up by Mr. Austin* differed considerably from the legal form. Mr. Austin had promised the men fixed wages of \$4 a month with food, whereas the legal form required the employer to pay "the same rate of wages for the same quantity of work as may from time to time be paid to "unindentured labourers working on the same "plantation." Again, Mr. Austin had intimated that the women would be left free from engagement or indenture. It, therefore, became evident as soon as the *Whirlwind* reached Georgetown that it would be necessary to amend Ordinance No. 1 of 1860, for Mr. Austin was so far commit-

* See blank specimen in Appendix B.

ted to the scheme laid down in his letter of the 26th April, 1859, that it would have been very difficult for him to render the reasons for a change intelligible to those with whom he had to deal in China. In fact, as he wrote from Hongkong on the 29th December, 1859, it was utterly impossible for him during the season then current to recede from the position which he had taken up "without completely prostrating family emigration" and entailing severe pecuniary loss on the "Colony of British Guiana." It was clearly a case in which the Colony had no option but to adapt its legislation to the action taken by Mr. Austin; and Governor Wodehouse proposed that, as the women, though not bound by indenture to work, must nevertheless remain on the estates and would undoubtedly render themselves useful, the planters should still be required to pay to the extent of one-third of the cost of their introduction, and thus leave the general revenue liable for the remaining two-thirds of the cost. This proposal, he wrote in a despatch dated the 22nd March, 1860, had been favourably received in the Colony, and it kept in view the principle that the proportion payable by the planter should depend upon the degree to which he acquired an absolute right to the services of an immigrant. The Secretary of State at first demurred to this proposal, but ultimately agreed that, as the introduction of unindentured women was based on moral rather than economical principles and might, therefore, be regarded as more in the interest of the public generally than of individual proprietors, it was not unfair that the public should bear the larger share of the expense. Under these circumstances Mr. Lewis, in a despatch dated the 23rd August, 1860, approved of the arrangement that, when the accounts for the year's operations were

received, each planter should be required to pay two-thirds of the cost of every immigrant, male, female or child, actually indentured, and one-third of the cost of the women and girls not indentured to him, the balance in each case being chargeable to the general revenue ; but he added "that the "general financial arrangements of the year "should be such that two-thirds of the whole cost "of immigration should fall either on the individual planters receiving labourers or be defrayed "from taxes falling exclusively on the employers "of labour."

Several other defects in Ordinance No. 1 of 1860 were noted by the Emigration Commissioners in a letter dated the 7th March, 1860, particularly the fact that the 14th clause of Ordinance No. 7 of 1854 had been allowed to remain in force, while the 18th clause of the same law was repealed. The consequence was that by the 14th clause validity was given to contracts for five years concluded by Chinese emigrants with certain formalities, and that this validity was no longer qualified by any provision empowering an immigrant on certain conditions to dissolve the contract or change his employer.

Ordinance No. 19 of 1860. In view of these defects the royal assent was withheld pending further amendment of the law, which was effected by Ordinance No. 19 of 1860, passed by the Court of Policy on the 28th July in that year, "to amend certain of the "regulations relating to immigrants." The 2nd section of this Ordinance provided for the legislation of two different forms of contract which, it was assumed, might be entered into in China : one guaranteeing to the immigrants, as in case of East

Indians, the same rate of wages in money alone as was paid to the Creole labourers : the other guaranteeing fixed wages of \$4 *per mensem*, with food, in return for labour of 7½ hours *per diem*. "We would gladly," wrote Governor Wodehouse on the 2nd August, 1860, "see all contracts drawn in the former ; but I understand from Mr. Austin that it will not be practicable to make the change with respect to the people engaged at Canton ; and the Court of Policy have, therefore, endeavoured to remedy the inconvenience as far as possible by the introduction of the 4th section which empowers the immigrant at any time after his arrival to exchange an agreement drawn in the second form for one drawn in the first. Exchanges of this kind have already been made to a considerable extent." The 5th section provided for the distribution between the Colony and the planter of the cost of unindentured Chinese females. On this point Governor Wodehouse wrote that "the planters would willingly give up altogether the indentures of Chinese females ; but it would be upon the understanding that the whole cost of their introduction would fall upon the Colonial revenue." The 6th section rendered the employer absolutely liable to the Colony for the recovery from the immigrant of the sum advanced to him in China. This advance rarely exceeded \$20 a head ; and the whole sum was declared to be due to the Colonial Chest in 24 months from the immigrant's arrival. As soon as the whole of the advances of one season had been thus recovered, the money was to be divided under the 7th section, between the Colony and the employers in the proportion of one-third and two-thirds. The 8th section provided for determining disputes as to the hours of labour rendered by Chinese under contracts for fixed wages. "Such

"disputes," said Governor Wodehouse, "may give much trouble in a country where all the work is regulated by task; and there can be no hardship to the labourer in declaring he shall be held to have worked the legal number of hours, if he can show that he has done in the week five tasks, which may each be accomplished in four or five hours. On the other hand, the planter will be quite contented to pay \$4 with food, if he can ensure that return for his money." The 9th section was required for the adjustment of the transactions of the season just closed. The 10th section regulated the allotment of immigrants and the obligations of employers thereupon. The object of the 11th section was to reduce the number of copies of indentures and thereby diminish the labour in the office of the Immigration Agent General. The 12th and 13th sections made provision for the loss of service to employers when indentured immigrants were imprisoned. The remaining sections did not concern Chinese immigrants.

**Ordi-
nance No. 5
of 1860.**

The royal assent to Ordinance No. 1 of 1860, as amended by Ordinance No. 19 of 1860, was communicated to the Governor in a despatch from the Colonial Office dated the 19th October, 1860: and in the meantime the Court of Policy had made financial provision for Mr. Austin's scheme by a Bill entitled "An Ordinance for raising a loan for payment of the cost of the introduction of Chinese immigrants" (No. 5 of 1860). This Ordinance, which was enacted on the 23rd January, 1860, differed in principle from the Indian Immigration Loan Ordinance (No. 6 of 1859) in one respect only. By the latter the Loan Commissioners were authorized to raise only the amount payable for the actual passage of the

immigrants, which was chargeable to the planters : whereas by the Chinese Immigration Loan Ordinance they were allowed to raise the sum of \$80 for each immigrant, that being the assumed amount chargeable for all purposes against the planters in conformity with the arrangement sanctioned by the Secretary of State, and the planter being further required to pay the difference in cash, wherever two-thirds of the outlay to be incurred for the introduction of an immigrant exceeded the sum of \$80. Provision was made for the issue of bonds not exceeding £100,000 in the whole, the bonds to be paid to bearer at the expiration of five years from the date of issue and to bear interest at a rate not exceeding 6% *per annum*, payable half-yearly. This Ordinance received the royal assent in March, 1860.

<p>Mr. Austin's 2nd Season 1860-61.</p>	<p>Mr. Austin arrived in Hongkong on the 9th October, 1860, to open his second emigration season, which began with the despatch of the <i>Sebastopol</i> from Canton on the 23rd December, 1860, and ended on the 9th April, 1861, with the departure of the <i>Whirlwind</i> from Hongkong on a second voyage with Chinese emigrants. During this season four ships were despatched from Canton and six ships from Hongkong. These ten ships, as will be seen in Table I, embarked in all 2,951 men, 496 women, 34 boys, 8 girls and 12 infants, a total of 3,501 souls : and they disembarked at Georgetown 2,854 men, 464 women, 32 boys, 7 girls and 14 infants, a total of 3,371 souls. There died on the voyage 97 men, 32 women, 2 boys, one girl and one infant, or 133 in all, while three infants were born on shipboard. The average mortality, therefore, was 3.78% or (neglecting the infants, whose sex is not given) a</p>
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mortality of 3.32% among the male, and of 6.54% among the female, emigrants : while the proportion of females landed in Demerara was only 13.9% of the total. Although in both these respects Mr. Austin's second season compared unfavourably with the first, it was in point of numbers far more successful than any which preceded or followed it. The season is also noteworthy for another reason, namely, the visit of the Reverend Mr. Lobscheid to British Guiana.

**Visit of
Rev. Mr. W.
Lobscheid
to British
Guiana.**

Mr. Lobscheid's health broke down and his medical advisers strongly urged him to return to Europe. He had, however, promised those Chinese, who had left for the British West Indies on his recommendation, that, should he ever visit Europe, he would pass through Demerara and pay them a visit. On learning these facts, Mr. Austin did all he could to make Mr. Lobscheid feel that it would afford the Government of British Guiana much pleasure, if he would take his route *viâ* the West Indies, offering him for this purpose a passage as Surgeon Superintendent in any of the ships then in Hongkong harbour under engagement to carry emigrants to Georgetown. Mr. Lobscheid selected the *Mystery*, a ship of 1,074 tons, which left Hongkong on the 3rd March, 1861, and reached Demerara on the 9th June after a voyage of 97 days. From the account which he afterwards published of his experiences* it appears that Mr.

* Chinese emigration to the West Indies ; a trip through British Guiana undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of the Chinese who have emigrated under Government contract ; with supplementary papers relating to contract labour and the slave trade ; by the Rev. William Lobscheid : printed at the " Royal Gazette " Office, Demerara, 1866.

Lobscheid visited the Chinese emigrants allotted to Plantations "Skeldon" and "Eliza and Mary" on the western bank of the Corentyne river; "Goldstone Hall" and other estates on the Berbice river; six estates in Leguan upon which Chinese were located; "Friendship," "Sarah," and the "Caledonia" plantation on Wakenaam; the estates on the Aroabisce Coast, west of the Essequibo river; and finally the plantations at Enmore and along the banks of the Demerara and Mahaica rivers. He left Georgetown for Europe on the 21st July, 1861, taking with him a letter of introduction to the Duke of Newcastle from Mr. William Walker, Government Secretary of British Guiana, who administered the Government, after the departure of Governor Wodehouse on 8th May, 1861, until the arrival of the new Governor, Mr. F. Hincks, on the 6th January, 1862.

**Mr. Lobscheid's
Sug-
gestions.**

Mr. Lobscheid drew attention to the early check which the new scheme of Chinese emigration had received from the imprudence of sending the first batch of Chinese to estates on the Corentyne, "a secluded place with very little communication with the rest of the Colony." Everything depended upon the reports which these Chinese would send home, but unfortunately for the scheme many of the new arrivals "having come from populous places, and some from Hongkong, felt their seclusion very much, and there being at that place more mosquitoes than in any other part of the country, they took a dislike to the Colony, advising their friends in China not to come until they should receive more favourable news." On this subject Mr. J. G. Austin wrote from Amoy on the 30th August, 1861, that whilst the correspondence from the

Canton emigrants had been regular, few letters had been received from the Hongkong emigrants ; that this silence was likely to interfere seriously with the prospects of the season ; and that, therefore, it was desirable that frequent applications should be made to the managers of the estates, on which Chinese were located, for letters from the emigrants of each ship to their friends in China, all letters of each mail to be forwarded under one cover marked "emigrant letters" to the care of the agent at Hongkong, and each letter to have the name, ship-number, and ship of the writer endorsed upon it, with a view to its speedy despatch to the village of the emigrant.

Another suggestion made by Mr. Lobscheid was that "the Government should give to immigrants coming to the Colony at their own expense, free of charge, two or more acres of land as a compensation for their passage money." This proposal Mr. Lobscheid afterwards discussed in London with the West India Committee, on whose behalf Mr. Stephen Cave wrote to the Colonial Office on the 3rd April, 1862, that Mr. Lobscheid would sail for Trinidad on the 17th of that month "with the view of establishing a voluntary emigration of Chinese to the West Indies, for which he in the most disinterested manner, declines to accept any remuneration," and of taking with him to China such Chinese labourers from Trinidad and British Guiana as might be selected to return as delegates to their countrymen. The Duke of Newcastle replied that the scheme had not come before him in such a shape as to enable him to form any opinion of its value or practicability ; but that, as the return of a certain number of Chinese to their countrymen might prove advantageous to the progress of

Chinese immigration generally, permission would be given to the Governors, if they thought fit, to assist Mr. Lobscheid in carrying them back. His Grace added, however, that the authority of Mr. Austin as sole agent of the British Government must be maintained undisturbed; that the Governors would accordingly be instructed to withhold from Mr. Lobscheid any official character whatever; and that, in the event of any Chinese "delegates" being employed as paid agents in China for the purpose of promoting emigration, they must be under the sole direction and authority of Mr. Austin. Governor Hinks, to whom the correspondence was forwarded on the 16th April, 1862, took an opportunity of consulting the Combined Court, which was in session when the despatch arrived, on the subject of free emigration from China to British Guiana, and he reported on the 19th May, 1862, "that those members, who were most favourable to Mr. Lobscheid's views, were of opinion that it would be premature to take a step involving so serious a responsibility as would be incurred by inviting persons to settle on lands in this Colony, which are at present a wilderness." The Duke of Newcastle replied on the 4th July, 1862, that he quite agreed in this conclusion, and so this proposal for the adoption of what is now known as the "kangany" system of emigration from China fell into abeyance without so much as a trial.

Opening of Sub- sidiary Agencies in China.	Another noteworthy event during Mr. Austin's second season was the opening of agencies subsidiary to those at Hongkong and Canton. It will be remembered that in his letter of the 26th April, 1859, Mr. Austin had suggested that there should be a depôt at Swatow,
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and that Governor Wodehouse had objected on the ground of expense. Objection on quite another ground was taken by Mr. F. W. A. Bruce, who wrote to Mr. Austin on the 4th November, 1859, recommending that, although the British Consuls both at Canton and Amoy had been instructed to assist in establishing family emigration to the British West Indies, operations should be confined to the port of Canton, where the allied occupation would facilitate the carrying out of the necessary arrangements. If all went well at Canton, and the Chinese Authorities were induced to act in concert with Mr. Austin, this would, Mr. Bruce thought, be a powerful argument for introducing a similar scheme at other ports. "Swatow," he added, "is not yet open, and there is no British Authority at that place: and, owing to the abuses that have characterized emigration at Amoy, the popular mind is at present much excited on the subject, and any attempt to bring it forward would be met by a refusal on the part of the Chinese officials and might lead to serious disturbances."

**Effect of
Treaty of
Tientsin
and Con-
vention of
Peking.**

But during 1860 the whole position was changed by the ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin on the 24th October, at Peking, and by the signing of a Convention of Peace and Friendship between Great Britain and China, also at Peking on the same day. The 9th article of the Treaty authorized British subjects to travel, for their pleasure or for purposes of trade, to all parts of the interior of China under passports issued by the British Consuls and countersigned by the local authorities, and further provided that no passport need be applied for by persons going on excursions from ports open to

trade to a distance not exceeding 100 *li* (say 30 miles) and for a period not exceeding 5 days. The 5th article of the Convention recited :—"His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China will, by Decree, command the high authorities of every province to proclaim throughout their jurisdictions, that Chinese choosing to take service in the British Colonies, or other parts beyond sea, are at perfect liberty to enter into engagements with British subjects for that purpose, and to ship themselves and their families on board any British vessel at any of the open ports of China ; also that the high authorities aforesaid shall, in concert with her Britannic Majesty's Representative in China, frame such regulations for the protection of Chinese, emigrating as above, as the circumstances of the different open ports may demand."

Mr. Maxwell appointed Agent at Hang-tsai. As soon as this news reached Mr. Austin, he applied to the Commissioners of Canton for passports and letters of credence, and with such success that he was able to despatch Mr. W. Maxwell as agent to Jam-shin* in the Hak-ka country on the 6th December, 1860. Mr. Maxwell reported in the following month that the officials and people of Jam-shin were thoroughly convinced, on the publication of the Convention amongst them, that they could not err in taking advantage of the emigration operations conducted on behalf of the British Government ; and he added that so great was the inclination evinced by large numbers of the families of

*Evidently the Hak-ka transliteration of the name of some small town, probably not far beyond the boundary of the present New Territories of Hongkong, and possibly to be identified with Sham-chun, a township temporarily occupied by the British forces in 1899.

the peasantry to emigrate after the Chinese new year, that he had little doubt of receiving more applicants for embarkation than were required for the season, shortened as it had been by delay at the outset and terminated as it must be by the monsoon. "Should so happy a result be obtained," wrote Mr. Austin to Lord Elgin on the 10th January, 1861, "it will be greatly owing to the Treaty, by which I am enabled to communicate directly with the peasantry in their villages, and establish an agent in the heart of their country, from whom they can derive whatever information they require, and by whom arrangements can be made at any time for their removal to Hongkong." Mr. Maxwell's agency was soon afterwards established on a temporary basis at a farmhouse in Hang-tsai,* some 50 miles from Hongkong.

Mr.
Austin's
negotia-
tions at
Peking.

At the close of the second season, Mr. Austin joined Mr. Consul Parkes at Peking, in order to arrange, whilst the ambassadors of the Treaty Powers were together, the general regulations for emigration. "I am," he wrote on the 8th February, 1861, "most anxious that they should be based on Government emigration, with special restrictions where private individuals embark in speculation for Cuba; and, although I see many difficulties before me, still I hope by the aid of the French interest, which has been converted to my views at Canton, to carry a point which is, in my opinion, essential to British interests. If we are

* A village, the situation of which I have been unable to identify: probably in either the San-on 新安, or the Tung-kun 東莞, district of the province of Kuang-tung

“ driven into golden competition with the Cuban
 “ speculators, we must go to the wall ; and I shall
 “ press upon Mr. Bruce whether such was the
 “ object of the Treaty, or whether the withdrawal
 “ of British emigration would be beneficial to
 “ British interests generally. In my view, the
 “ more intimate our connexion becomes with the
 “ people of China by means of emigration, the
 “ greater will be our influence generally ; and, al-
 “ though people may not give me credit for any
 “ desire to further operations other than those
 “ specially entrusted to me, I should nevertheless
 “ consider any blow dealt to emigration from
 “ China generally, as we are conducting it through
 “ the districts adjacent to Hongkong, a vital blow
 “ to the best interests of the Empire.” Mr. Austin
 spent the summer at Peking, engaged in these
 negotiations, which, however, did not lead to any
 result at the time.

Increased demand for Chinese emigrants. In the season of 1859-60 the Emi-
 gration Commissioners had directed
 Mr. Austin to ship 1,900 male adults
 to Demerara ; and, as a guide for the
 future, they had enclosed the resolu-
 tion of the Court of Policy pledging
 British Guiana to take 2,000 Chinese emigrants
 annually. Subsequently, an order was sent to
 Mr. Austin to provide 2,500 emigrants during the
 season 1860-61, and he actually succeeded in
 landing at Georgetown 1,549 male adults during
 the first season and 2,854 male adults during the
 second season, that is a total of 4,403 male adults
 corresponding almost exactly with the total indent
 of 4,400. For the third season 1861-2, Mr. Austin
 was at first directed to prepare for 1,100 only, but
 he afterwards received an order to send 3,400
 Chinese to Demerara and 500 to Trinidad. With

so large an emigration as 3,900 before him, Mr. Austin had naturally to consider from what parts of China he could obtain the best labourers within the limit of his credit. He could not depend on Canton for more than 1,200, and he had already felt that a pressure at Hongkong to the extent of some 2,000 not only gave him worse labourers, but increased the expense by placing him at the mercy of the Chinese agents. He had had great hopes of the Hang-tsai branch, and had looked forward to being able to carry out the ideas of Mr. Parkes by opening the agricultural districts above Canton and elsewhere with European agents instead of Chinese employes. But he could not depend upon Hang-tsai beyond 300 or 400, and he doubted his ability to overcome the prejudice of years to any great extent above Canton at once. He, therefore, put down Canton as for 1,200, Hongkong with Hang-tsai for 1,500; and, having while at Peking secured Mr. Bruce's assent, he decided on opening Amoy and Swatow with the expectation of obtaining 600 emigrants from each.

Floating When the season opened, all as
Depôt at regarded the number of emigrants
Hongkong. looked most hopeful, the first Canton ship loading rapidly with only a \$10 advance to the men, whilst the Hongkong and Hang-tsai stations provided all that could be expected. With the departure, however, of the first Hongkong ship (for which the advances to the men were also reduced to \$10) all changed at that agency, the Hang-tsai branch being much injured by the adverse letters of the Lobscheid emigrants in British Guiana, industriously circulated by the German missionaries, and the popu-

lous district of Pok-lo* being closed through the disturbances resulting from the intermeddling of missionaries between the elders and the people on religious matters. It was then beyond a doubt that Mr. Austin could not execute half the order entrusted to him unless a wider field of operations could be secured, and he determined to hurry on preparations at Swatow and Amoy. Even here he was unfortunately brought to a standstill by the tardy arrival of the ships chartered by the Emigration Commissioners and the impossibility of obtaining others. Seeing, therefore, that the northern stations as thus situated were becoming but useless outlay, Mr. Austin adopted the expedient of giving Hongkong a floating depôt and making it the central shipping port, while dispensing with any outlay ashore in Hongkong save for the office and medical inspection room. "A receiving ship," he wrote, "is in my opinion most advantageous at Hongkong, not only from its local benefit, but from the relief it can afford to the other stations, when ships are not to be obtained. For both cases emigrants can be paid their advances, can be indented and embarked, even if no vessel for the voyage has been secured, can be under more strict supervision, can be more readily detected as opium-smokers, whilst by collection of the passengers previous to the chartering of a ship lower freights from the reduction of the lay days can be secured."

**Emigra-
tion Depôt
at Swatow.** Mr. Austin's emigration house at Swatow was opened on the 2nd December, 1861, and was placed in charge of Mr. Maxwell, who was transferred for the purpose from Hang-tsai, where

* A district town on the East River in Kuang-tung province: Lat. 23°, 10' N.; Long. 114°, 22' E.

he was replaced by Mr. H. Rubery. For some months previously Mr. G. W. Caine, the British Consul at Swatow, who had been informed of Mr. Austin's intentions, had been in communication with the provincial authorities, who gave him every assistance. Lao Ch'ung-kuang, now confirmed in the office of Governor-General of the provinces of Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi, issued a proclamation on the 4th November, 1861, stating that, when the British and French Authorities had withdrawn their troops from Canton in October, 1861, he took into consideration the subject of emigration, and that, after consulting Mr. Robertson, the British Consul at Canton, he introduced some amendments into the regulations for labour-emigration made by the British and French Authorities on the 1st March, 1861, and sent instructions to Mr. Wilger, Inspector of Customs at the port of Ch'ao-chou,* and to the Deputy *hai-kuan* Yü to act in accordance with those regulations.† "I have now," he stated, "received a communication from "Mr. Caine, British Consul at Ch'ao-chou, reporting that Mr. Austin, an agent appointed by the "British Government to manage the engagement "of labourers, is about to open an emigration "house at the port of Ch'ao-chou, and requesting "me to issue a notification and have the matter "dealt with according to the regulations in force "at Canton. I consider that this is in accordance "with Treaty and regulations and should accordingly be sanctioned. Besides writing to the "proper officers to act accordingly, it is right that "I should issue a public and authoritative notice. "I, therefore, issue this notice and desire that the "poor persons of all the country of Ch'ao-chou

* See note on page 40 *supra*.

† See Appendix C.

“ will understand as follows :—Hereafter, when
 “ any persons wish to emigrate from the port of
 “ Ch’ao-chou to foreign countries to do work and
 “ get their living, let them go in person to the
 “ emigration house established by Mr. Austin,
 “ report themselves and wait till the *hai-kuan* Yü,
 “ together with the Inspector of Customs, Mr.
 “ Wilger, shall in accordance with the amended
 “ Canton regulations have made minute inquiries
 “ Then, if it proves that the person himself is willing
 “ and desirous to go and has not been cheated away
 “ by any ill-meaning person, he will be allowed to
 “ settle the rate of wages, the term of years and
 “ place of destination, and to sign an engagement
 “ to be kept for reference. This system will aid
 “ the poor in gaining their living by their labour
 “ and will hinder evil-doers in their practice of
 “ cheating away and selling people.”

The Swatow depôt was established some miles from the native city on the mainland at O-tau,* opposite the foreign settlement of Double Island, where it could have the protection of Her Majesty’s gunboats and be, according to treaty regulations, under the surveillance of the British Consul and the Inspector of Chinese Customs. The land for the O-tau depôt was bought by Mr. Austin for £266. 13s. 4d. and contained 1 acre, 1 rood, 30 $\frac{1}{3}$ poles, and there was expended in laying out the grounds £2. 6s. 7d. The cost of erecting a house and depôt amounted to £889. 12s. 11d., and during 1861-2 there was expended upon them in subsequent repairs £20. 15s. 10d., making a total outlay upon land and buildings of £1,179. 8s. 8d. Mr. Maxwell’s salary as sub-agent was at the rate of £500 *per annum*.

* 鰲頭

Depôt at
Tat-hao-
p'û.

Through Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Austin was introduced to Mr. James Jones, a missionary who had been living for upwards of two years at Tat-hao-p'û,* a market town in the neighbourhood containing a population of 40,000, the centre and place of trade for upwards of 30 villages, all of which were familiar to Mr. Jones, and of which he had lately revisited eighteen. Ch'ao-yang,* the district city, situated about 10 miles from Tat-hao-p'û, returned at the census of 1860 a population considerably over 300,000 males : and there were no less than 1,816 agricultural villages in the district. Mr. Jones suggested that an emigration house should be opened in Tat-hao-p'û, and he wrote to Mr. Austin on the 28th December, 1861 :—"I would gladly undertake the charge of such a place, and see that the assistants do their work by accompanying them to the various villages, and assist in explaining our object to the people. I could also be of use to Mr. Maxwell by being with him on shipping days, and telling the emigrants of any matter he may wish to speak about. The fact of my having lived among this people so long a time, and released 70 or 80 of them from the slave prison, may do more than anything to convince them that the two systems are essentially different, while I know that I can secure the services of influential and efficient men to act as agents. Three or four will suffice for this side of the water." Mr. Jones also offered to prepare a pamphlet in the Ch'ao-chou dialect, on the lines of that already published in Cantonese, explaining to the people the nature of the project. Mr. Austin considered it advisable to retain Mr. Jones

* See note on page 81 *supra*.

on his own terms, namely, £375 *per annum*, in connexion with the Swatow agency : and he rented a depôt in Tat-hao-p'u and laid out £11. 11s. 3d. on it in flooring and partitioning. By the end of August, 1862, a total sum of £30. 6s. 3d. had been expended on the buildings of this agency.

Depôt at Amoy. At Amoy Mr. Austin, who had been informed by the British Consul there resident that his scheme of emigration would be favourably received by the authorities and the people, acquired one house, the interest in the lease of which was purchased for £210. 8s. 4d., while the yearly rental payable was at the rate of £18. 15s. He also acquired a Chinese house (or "hong") on lease for three years from the 1st January, 1862, at a monthly rental of £3. 2s. 6d., and appointed as his Amoy agent Mr. M. Fitzgibbon, a gentleman "of high character and great influence amongst all classes, "speaking the language, and connected by "marriage with the missionaries." Thus, in the spring of 1862, the Emigration Agency, apart from its establishments at Hongkong and Canton, had subsidiary depôts at Hang-tsai, O-tau, Tat-hao-p'u and Amoy.

Mr. Austin's 3rd season 1861-2. The third season began on the 26th November, 1861, with the despatch of the *Agra* from Canton and ended on 2nd May, 1862, with the departure of the *Genghis Khan* carrying emigrants from Swatow, Canton and Hongkong. In all seven ships set sail with a complement of 2,139 men, 504 women, 32 boys, 11 girls and 4 infants, a total of 2,690 souls : and from these ships there landed in Georgetown 2,085 men, 458 women, 31 boys, 10 girls and 8 infants, a total of 2,592 souls. Thus there died on the voyage 54

men, 46 women, one boy and one girl. No infant died, but 4 were born on shipboard. The average mortality, therefore, was 3.79%, or (neglecting the infants, whose sex is not given) a mortality of 2.53% among the male, and of 9.12% among the female, emigrants : while the proportion of women and girls landed in Demerara was 18.1% of the total. It will be remembered that the number of emigrants asked for by British Guiana in this season was 3,400 : thus, taking the aggregate of emigrants shipped, Mr. Austin embarked 710 less than the Colony's indent. He accounted for this by the late date at which the instruction to despatch 3,400 emigrants, instead of the 1,100 originally ordered, came to hand, and by the fact that the season was approaching its end before his arrangements at Swatow and Amoy could be completed. Mr. Austin, however, succeeded in executing the Trinidad order for 500 emigrants by despatching the *Maggie Millar* from Hongkong on the 12th February, 1862, with 364 men, 170 women, 10 boys, 4 girls and 1 infant, a total of 549 souls : but, the vessel having met with much damage at sea, it was necessary to transfer the emigrants at Mauritius to the *Wanata*, from which vessel there landed in Trinidad on the 3rd July, 1862, a total of 470, one birth and no less than 80 deaths having occurred during the voyage. The mortality during the entire passage was, therefore, 14.5%—considerably greater than in any other shipment sent by Mr. Austin to Demerara. Of the deaths 17 occurred in the *Maggie Millar* and 63 in the *Wanata*. The latter ship was reported by the Immigration Agent at Trinidad to be "well appointed, fairly ventilated and in dry stone ballast : " but he inferred that the influence of a hurricane, which dismasted the *Wanata*, and the effect of five months' voyage may have told

against the weakest. He added that "during the passage there were several fierce faction fights, due to the presence in the same vessel of natives of different provinces."

**Voyages of
emigrant
ships dur-
ing the
season
1861-2.**

1. Agra.

There are a few points of interest in the voyages of the emigrant-ships of this season to Demerara, which it is desirable to touch upon. In the *Agra*, the first ship of the season, there was only one death, and the emigrants on their arrival were clean, cheerful, orderly and in good health.

The surgeon was a native of China, and it was stated that this was the first time a vessel had arrived with Chinese immigrants without having on board a European surgeon.

**2. Earl
of Windsor.**

In the second ship, the *Earl of Windsor*, there were 24 deaths, but no particular reason is assigned for this mortality of 7.38%. A few of the female immigrants were small footed, and there were also a few of impaired constitution and many old. But the male immigrants were stated to have been well selected. The vessel was not so clean, neither were the immigrants so cleanly or orderly as those by the *Agra*. From some reflections in the Surgeon's journal, the Governor was led to order an inquiry into the circumstances connected with the treatment and shipment of the people. The result showed that there had been no lack of kindness towards them, but a lamentable want of discipline, leading to an amount of insubordination which "excited the fear of the Surgeon and Commander, and endangered not only their own comfort, but perilled the well-being of all on board, and the safety of the ship." The Immigration Agent General and the Medical Inspector of the

Estates' Hospitals, who conducted the inquiry, observed that it was a fortunate circumstance there were so many women on board,—141 women as against 178 men emigrated by this ship,—and that no occurrence took place to excite the emigrants to any acts of violence. These observations are deserving of notice, viewed in connexion with the case of the *Persia*, which was the fourth ship of the season.

3. Red Riding Hood. The mortality in the third ship, the *Red Riding Hood*, was only three. This ship had made three consecutive voyages most successfully : the first in 75 days with a mortality of three out of 314 embarked, the second in 84 days with four out of 314, and the third in 80 days with three out of 326,—the average rate of mortality on the three voyages being less than 1%. It seems a pity that the vessel was not again engaged for this emigration service.

4. *Persia*. In the fourth ship, the *Persia*, Mr. Clarence Chapman was Surgeon Superintendent. After this vessel left the Cape of Good Hope, where she stopped for fresh provisions, Lieutenant Shenkwin of Her Majesty's 59th Regiment, who took passage in her to the Cape, preferred an accusation against Mr. Chapman of ill-treating the emigrants on the passage, supporting his statement by extracts and notes kept by him at the time, to the truth of which extracts he made a declaration before one of the Justices of the Peace for the Cape Town district. Lieutenant Shenkwin represented that the punishments inflicted on the emigrants were, not only of frequent occurrence, but were cruel and wanton ; that they consisted of locking them to the stanchion, burning their noses and faces with caustic, and starvation, but more frequently of flogging with the cane,

inflicted in many instances most unmercifully, and exceeding in severity anything which he had ever seen in the Army or Navy. He stated that Mr. Chapman was both judge and executioner, and that the emigrants were often punished for trivial causes and in some cases unjustly. He even insinuated, though he did not expressly say so, that the Surgeon was, somehow or other, to blame, but in what way was not explained, for the deaths which occurred on the passage.

Circumstantial as these charges were, the fact that (although the *Persia* remained nearly three days at the Cape) they were not made until the vessel had resumed her voyage, threw some suspicion on their validity, and this suspicion was much strengthened by the report of the Immigration Agent at the Cape who had visited the ship and reported that the "passengers—men, women "and children—looked generally very healthy and "cheerful, and," as he added, "I am glad to say I "heard no complaints, although I went freely "among them." Again, when the vessel reached Georgetown, Mr. Crosby, the Immigration Agent General, reported in the following terms :—"The "*Persia* is a remarkably fine ship, was in very "admirable order, and the immigrants themselves "were a very fine body of people and appeared "to have received every care and attention during "the voyage." The mortality on the voyage was small, namely : six deaths out of 531 persons embarked, or at the rate of 1.12%. Of these deaths four occurred between Hongkong and the Cape of Good Hope and two between the Cape and British Guiana. Moreover, Mr. Chapman had been for eight years in the service of the Emigration Commissioners, had made nine voyages in their vessels, exclusive of that in the *Persia*, name-

ly, six to Australia, one with soldiers' wives and children to Madras, one with Indian coolies, and one previous voyage with Chinese. On each of these voyages he was reported to have performed his duties efficiently and in a satisfactory manner.

The Duke of Newcastle ordered a searching inquiry to be made into the accusations, in London by the Emigration Commissioners, and in the Colony by the Government of British Guiana. Mr. Chapman defended himself in a long letter dated the 9th September, 1862, in which, while he admitted having made use of the several modes of punishment specified by Lieutenant Shenkwin, he positively denied that the punishments were administered unjustly or with undue severity. He explained that the Chinese embarked in the *Persia* came from four different places,—Hongkong, Canton, Swatow and Amoy—that they spoke different dialects, could not understand and cordially hated each other. This bad feeling manifested itself before the commencement of the voyage and continued more or less throughout. The men came on board fighting ; and, during the ten days the ship lay at Hongkong, these faction fights were of almost daily occurrence. What, asked Mr. Chapman, was a Surgeon Superintendent of a ship to do, " when 500 Chinese were fighting all " over her, on deck, in the 'tween decks ; yells and " noises sufficient to stun you ; billets of fire- " wood, choppers, chopping-blocks, holystones, " boards, iron bars, knives, etc., flying about, and " glass bottles breaking in all directions ; " was such a state of things to be allowed ? Evidently, if order was to be maintained, some summary punishment was necessary. Mr. Chapman stated that he first tried what remonstrance and threatening would do ; but finding them of no avail, he next

tried locking up the offenders in hospital, and even put them in irons, then ironing them around a stanchion, and keeping them without food for twenty-four hours and in some instances even longer. Lastly, he had recourse to caning, which he found the only effectual punishment. He explained that the application of caustic was only to mark the offenders, a perfectly painless operation, merely discolouring the part for five or six days ; that no one was punished by caning until after a formal and public examination, and that, so far from these canings being inflicted unmercifully, in only one grave case were as many as three dozen strokes administered : that, although in that case the back was made sore across the shoulders, yet in no instance was the skin broken or the offender laid up or prevented from going about as usual ; that his methods had eventually the desired effect of keeping down the faction fights and reducing the Chinese to a state of obedience and good order. He further explained that he administered the punishment himself, first because he had heard that the Chinese would not allow a European to cane them without being revengeful, and he thought it better that their revenge should fall on him than on any one else, and next because another hand might punish with too much severity.

The statements of Mr. Chapman were confirmed by the testimony of the interpreter and the first mate of the *Persia*, as well as by others, and in the end the Surgeon Superintendent was exonerated from blame both by the Emigration Commissioners and the Duke of Newcastle. The former wrote that, although they would avoid offering him any future appointment to a Chinese emigrant-ship, because his proceedings would probably be scrutinized with more suspicion than those of others, yet

they would entrust to him again with perfect confidence the charge of emigrants from the United Kingdom or from India. But the whole affair is noteworthy as throwing an interesting light on life aboard the emigrant-ships, and as an illustration of the danger due to neglect of Mr. Lobscheid's advice that some care should be taken to separate the clans, so as to prevent quarrels in the ship.*

**5. Sir
George
Seymour.**

The fifth vessel of the season, the *Sir George Seymour*, made a protracted voyage of 142 days, and the length of the passage appears to have told on the appearance and spirits of the immigrants. One hundred and two days were occupied in reaching the Cape of Good Hope, the ship having been impeded by boisterous weather. About a month before reaching Table Bay, it was discovered that the water-casks leaked. It then became necessary to put the whole of the passengers, officers and crew on short allowance, and even this allowance it was necessary still further to reduce about ten days before their arrival at the Cape. Notwithstanding these precautions, the water was so nearly exhausted that, if the ship had been a single day later in reaching the Cape, there would have been none left for culinary purposes, and a very small quantity for drinking. There were 35 deaths in this ship; 13 of them occurred before the short allowance of water became necessary, and 16 between that day and the day on which the ship left the Cape. The remaining 6 deaths took place between the Cape and British Guiana. Sixteen of the deaths were from fever, the seeds of which it was conjectured, were brought on board, the ship never having been free from typhoid from the time she left China.

* See page 79 *supra*.

**6. Lady
Elma
Bruce.**

In the next ship, the *Lady Elma Bruce*, but for one woman missing, who was supposed to have jumped overboard, there was not a single death. The immigrants were from Swatow and Amoy, and were stated to be without exception the finest body ever introduced into the Colony. Among them were eight or ten Christians, who possessed bibles, prayer books and hymns in their own language. They held religious service during the voyage every night, and two or three times a day on Sundays. It was their custom to collect a number of other immigrants around them, to whom they read and explained the scriptures, by which means nearly a hundred of these persons were likely, it was said, to become Christians.

**7. Gen-
ghis Khan.**

The seventh and last ship of the season, the *Genghis Khan*, was very clean and in good order, when she reached Demerara; but, nevertheless, the mortality was large, amounting to 32 deaths out of 512 embarked, or 6.25%. The immigrants were inferior to those by the *Lady Elma Bruce*, and not so well behaved. It is stated that on several occasions during the voyage they were troublesome, and that even in harbour they were quarrelling and fighting and not amenable to discipline. This ship, like the *Persia*, had a mixed complement of Chinese from Hongkong, Canton, Swatow and Amoy.

**Sum-
mary of
Mr. Aus-
tin's work
during
his three
seasons.**

At the close of the season Mr. J. G. Austin's health broke down. He left for England on the 15th April, 1862; and, as he never resumed charge of the Chinese emigration agencies for the British West Indies, it may be convenient to tabulate

briefly the result of his labours :—

SEASON.	Number actually embarked in China.					Number disembarked at Georgetown.					Died or lost during voyage.	Per-cent- age of Deaths during voyage from China.	Per-cent- age of females to males disembarked.
	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.	
1859-60	1,563	305	53	26	17	1,964	1,549	298	53	26	18	1,944	20.2
1860-61	2,951	496	34	8	12	3,501	2,854	464	32	7	14	3,371	13.9
1861-62	2,139	504	32	11	4	2,690	2,085	458	31	10	8	2,592	18.1
TOTAL	6,653	1,305	119	45	33	8,155	6,488	1,220	116	43	40	7,907	17.4

**Expendi-
ture
in China.**

These figures bear eloquent testimony to Mr. Austin's success in establishing what he called "family emigrations." Nor were the financial results less satisfactory. It will be remembered that Mr. Austin on the 9th March, 1859, had estimated the entire expense of Chinese emigration, according to the plan proposed by him, at \$120 *per caput*, of which \$70 would have to be available for expenses in China ; that the Combined Court on the 13th and 14th May, 1859, had granted advances to him at a rate not exceeding \$70 for each adult in addition to the cost of the establishment of the necessary depôts ; and that the Emigration Commissioners had authorized him to incur an aggregate expenditure of \$145 *per caput* during his first season. But, as a matter of fact, including all expenditure on establishing and maintaining depôts, the China expenditure for the season 1859-60 was only \$57.21 a head ; for the season 1860-61 it was \$57.22, and for the season 1861-62 it was \$64.03 a head. Mr. Austin explained the small increase of one cent a head in his second season by the fact that entirely new charges, amounting to \$8,841.65 and to a great extent beyond his control, were thrust upon him. Such charges were, for instance, the Emigration Officers' fees at Hongkong, consular fees at Canton and the Allied Commissioners' tax at Canton. The increased expenditure in the third season was due to the establishment of new depôts at Hang-tsai, Swatow, Tat-hao-p'u and Amoy, as well as to the purchase of a floating depôt at Hongkong. Now the total outlay in China during the third season amounted to \$193,763.64 (of which the portion chargeable to Trinidad was computed by Mr. W. B. Pollard, the Auditor General of British Guiana, to be \$30,000) and it was incurred in the hope of shipping 3,900

immigrants to the West Indies. Had this hope been realised the cost *per caput* would only have been \$49.68; but, as we have seen, the indent for immigrants was increased from 1,100 to 3,900 late in the season, with the result that the expenditure, incurred by Mr. Austin in extending his field of operations to meet this increased demand, could not produce the requisite number of immigrants by the date when the change in the monsoon necessarily closed the season. Even so Mr. Austin was well within the limit of \$70 a head fixed by the Combined Court; and in a letter to the Emigration Commissioners dated the 19th May, 1863, he reported that the *per caput* expenses of the season 1861-2 at the respective agencies were as follows :—

	<i>per caput</i>	
	\$	c.
(i) Hongkong and Hang-tsai		
(a) inclusive of purchase of receiving ship...	78	80
(b) exclusive of purchase of receiving ship...	68	32
(ii) Canton (no purchases made) ...	39	75
(iii) Swatow		
(a) inclusive of cost of land and depôt ...	60	02
(b) exclusive of cost of land and depôt ...	45	68
(iv) Amoy		
(a) inclusive of cost of land and depôt ...	35	67
(b) exclusive of cost of land and depôt ...	33	27

Mr. Austin further reported that, during the season 1861-2, the total number of emigrants embarked for Demerara and Trinidad by the respective agencies had been as follows :—

	Males.	Females.	Infants.	Total.
Hongkong ...	857	471	4	1,332
Canton ...	958	172	1	1,131
Amoy ...	384	38	—	422
Swatow ...	341	9	—	350
	<hr/> 2,540	<hr/> 690	<hr/> 5	<hr/> 3,235

In considering these figures it must be borne in mind that the salary, residence and board of the Chief Agent, Mr. J. G. Austin, together with several other charges entered in the Hongkong cash account, ship disbursements, etc., properly belong to the agencies generally, although debited in the above statement against Hongkong alone. A central station must at all times bear a large portion of general charges.

This summary shows that there was good promise for the future, provided that the immigration indent of British Guiana remained constant, as had been anticipated by the Court of Policy, at a total of some 2,000 Chinese immigrants *per annum*.

**Entire
cost per
caput
of the
Immigra-
tion.**

In addition to the expenses in China, there was, of course, the expenditure payable in the Colony for shipping the Chinese emigrants to British Guiana. When these expenses are brought to account, it appears that the *entire* cost of Chinese emigration to British Guiana was in Mr. Austin's first season \$125 a head, in his second season \$120 a head, and in his third season \$139 a head. For comparison with Chinese emigration, as conducted in the time of Mr. White and Mr. Gerard, only the figures for male emigration should be quoted, as no Chinese women and girls were shipped to Georgetown until Mr. Austin's time. The cost of Mr. Gerard's emigration reached nearly \$144 a head, and that of emigration in Mr. White's time was about \$110 a head. But, taking the season 1860-61, in which there were no unusual circumstances, the cost of Mr. Austin's male emigration was only \$98.90 a head. Mr. Austin, therefore, kept well within the limit laid down by the Emigration

Commissioners, and his expenditure compares favourably with that of his predecessors, while his methods were beyond all comparison better.

**Dangers
to the
Agents
in China.**

No account of Chinese emigration, as conducted during the years 1859 to 1862, would be complete without an allusion to the dangers which Mr. Austin and his sub-agents had to face. "Even in Hongkong," he wrote on the 1st August, 1862, "money had to be brought to the office under the charge of a sepoy with a loaded musket, and I have often sat with a loaded revolver at my side to guard the dollars, which were being paid out. I never crossed to Hangtsai but with the greatest caution, concealing my movements as much as possible, and never parting from my revolver by day or night, holding it repeatedly in my hand during the whole of the latter. On one occasion two piratical junks were placed to intercept me. On another Mr. Maxwell was beaten and robbed of everything he possessed, and then a price was set upon the head of every foreigner. Was it to be wondered at that the insurance offices would charge myself and the agents more than the ordinary China risk?" The reason for running such risks was, Mr. Austin explained, the fact that without placing his agents at the doors of the cottages, in the position previously occupied by the Chinese crimps, he could not hope to make the people understand the very great difference between his system of emigration and that of the Spaniards, or to obtain *bona fide* agricultural labourers. He might, as in the Cuban emigration from Macao, have maintained but one depôt and a small European staff; but practically he must, in that case, have followed the Spanish agents in contributing by indirect heavy

outlay to the support of the barracoons along the whole line of coast from Ch'ao-chow to Hong-kong, over which barracoons he could have no possible control, as being the property of irresponsible Chinese agents. "And what," he asked, "has been the pecuniary result in the one case and must have been in the other? Why, in the former I have had depôts in every direction, and Europeans communicating directly with the people in their villages, with salary accounts, depôt accounts, ration accounts and general expense charges reaching in the aggregate \$57.22 *per caput*; whilst in the latter I must have paid lump sums according to the market value at Macao, which in the season 1859-60 I ascertained to be \$60 *per caput* on delivery, irrespective (of course) of the after charges for clothing, etc., etc." The risk was undoubtedly worth the running.

Appreciation of Mr. Austin's work.

A just appreciation of Mr. Austin's services is contained in a letter dated the 9th December, 1862, addressed to the Colonial Office by Mr. T. W. C. Murdoch on behalf of the Emigration Commissioners. "In the course of time," he wrote, "perhaps at once, it may be possible to introduce improvements in the system devised by Mr. Austin, which will both increase its efficiency and reduce its expense. But, even in that case, it will be necessary, in contrasting what may hereafter be done with what has been done already, to bear in mind that Mr. Austin had to struggle against all the difficulties resulting from the pernicious practices of the foreign agencies, that he had to organise a new and trustworthy body of agents, to inaugurate a new system of depôt management, and to overcome the obsta-

'cles hitherto opposed to female emigration. "That in doing this he had to incur expenses which his successor may avoid is very probable, but that fact would not necessarily imply waste on his part." Mr. Murdoch concluded that Mr. Austin had done good service, and that his exertions and arrangements had "placed emigration on a much sounder footing than that on which it stood before his appointment."



CHAPTER VII.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END (1862-3).

History
of 1854
repeated
in 1862.

No one who now reads the record of Mr. Austin's success in organizing "family emigration" from South China to Demerara can fail to be impressed by the energy and sagacity with which he took full advantage of a singularly opportune moment, enlisting the sympathy in his enterprise, not only of missionaries and consuls, but even of the local Chinese officials. His ideas were remarkable for practical humanity and common sense; and both the Emigration Commissioners and the Government of British Guiana appear to have been fortunate in having at this juncture secured the services of an agent possessed of such tact, prudence and liberal temper. This, however, was not then the opinion in the Colony, where the history of 1854 now repeated itself.

It will be remembered that, when Mr. P. E. Wodehouse assumed the Government of British Guiana in 1854, one of his earliest measures was to put a stop to Chinese immigration as organized by his predecessor, Governor H. Barkly. Mr. Wodehouse lived to be described by his successor, Governor F. Hincks*, as "a strong advocate for Chinese immigration;" nevertheless, Mr. Hincks no sooner became Governor than he set about destroying the system of Chinese immigration, which had been so successfully initiated by Mr. Austin.

* Despatch to Secretary of State, dated 3rd February, 1862.

**Governor
Hincks
opposed to
Chinese
immigra-
tion.**

Within a month of his arrival in Georgetown, the new Governor wrote, on the 3rd February, 1862, to the Duke of Newcastle that complaints of the delay in shipping Chinese emigrants during the season 1860-61 were universal, and that it had been strongly pressed on him by the Surgeon General "that, with a view to the health of the immigrants, no ships ought to leave the Chinese ports later than the 1st February," it being very undesirable that immigrants should arrive during the rainy season, which commenced in British Guiana about the middle of May. He said that "the Chinese immigration of the last season was most disastrous," adding that Mr. Stewart, who represented a larger number of estates than any attorney in the Colony, had only applied for 125 Chinese in the season 1862-3 ; that Mr. Smith, the attorney next in importance, had stated that he did not conceive himself at liberty to apply for a single Chinese immigrant for next season ; that Mr. Winter, who represented several estates, not only declined to give any new order, but was anxious to be relieved of his orders for the season 1861-2 ; and that Mr. Lillie, though anxious to continue Chinese immigration, could not give any new order. Governor Hincks continued that he was "not in a position as yet to order a single cargo of Chinese immigrants for next season" ; that his predecessor (Mr. Wodehouse) had urged the planters to extend their applications for the season 1861-2 beyond what they were inclined to do, with a view of lessening the expense, which, of course, would have been much greater, if thrown on a smaller number ; that consequently he would have the greatest difficulty in disposing of the immigrants about to arrive from China, and that he had offered Mr. Stewart

the full number of Chinese immigrants, for which he had applied for the season 1862-3, out of those due in the season 1861-2 ; that he would be able to continue such offers to others, but might be informed that, although an estate was prepared to take an extra number in twelve months' time, it could not do so at once. "I am," he wrote, "firmly persuaded that there is an ample supply of labour in the Colony at present, the best evidence of which is that some estates will have to remove unindentured African and other labourers from their houses to make room for the immigrants about to arrive during the present season." Governor Hincks further stated that, in his opinion, Mr. Austin had not exercised such personal supervision over the immigration as was indispensably necessary ; that Mr. Austin's accounts had "not been furnished in a satisfactory manner," and that several charges would be questioned by the Auditor General ; that he understood Mr. Austin would return to England at the close of the season, and that, if he did so, "the plan adopted in the case of the minor Colonies by the Emigration Commissioners, namely, to communicate with the West India Committee in London, would be the best that could be adopted. I am myself of opinion," he concluded, "that a mercantile house of high standing might be entrusted with the Agency."

**Doubts
expediency
of order-
ing any
Chinese
immi-
grants for
next
season.**

A few days later, on the 7th February, 1862, Governor Hincks wrote in a further despatch :—"I have been assured that the applicants for Chinese immigrants to arrive during the season are offering \$10 a head to any planters who will take them off their hands. In two instances I have been notified that owing to

"insolvency planters will be unable to take the
 "Chinese immigrants for whom they have applied ;
 "and, although the estates may be liable to the
 "Colony, neither employment nor wages can be
 "hoped for in these cases. I have heard of
 "other cases, in which the labourers now on
 "the estates can get neither employment nor
 "wages. I have had to direct the removal
 "of all the labourers from one estate, the proprie-
 "tor of which is insolvent, and I fear that in two
 "other cases I shall have to take the same course.
 "Under these circumstances, I do not think that
 "it will be expedient to order any Chinese immi-
 "grants next season, and I am very doubtful as
 "to the expediency of ordering even the small
 "number of Indians that have been applied for.
 "No new capital is likely to be employed in pro-
 "ducing sugar, and my own conviction is that
 "there is an ample supply of labour in the Colony
 "for the next two or three years. I anticipate
 "the greatest difficulty in disposing of those
 "expected this season in a satisfactory manner."

**Pro-
 posal that
 Chinese
 agency
 should be
 closed.**

Two weeks later, when the date
 fixed for receiving applications for
 immigrants for the season 1862-3 had
 passed, and most of the attorneys
 had sent in their indents Governor
 Hincks reported in a despatch dated
 the 22nd February, 1862, that the total number of
 Chinese immigrants applied for was 270, adding,
 "it will, I apprehend, be necessary to abandon the
 "Chinese agency," and repeating a few lines fur-
 "ther on :—"Your Grace will, I am persuaded, be
 "of opinion that the expensive Chinese agency
 "cannot be too soon closed." Thus perfunctorily
 was it proposed to abandon in a moment a system
 of immigration laboriously organised during three

years at a crisis in the history of South China uniquely favourable for continuing the experiment, a system, moreover, which was in thorough working order and had only one month before attained its full development.

**Planters
reluctant
to abandon
Chinese
immigra-
tion.**

A few days passed, and in the meantime the first ship of the season arrived from China, and the new Governor had an opportunity of conferring with several of the leading planters, from whom he ascertained that they were apprehensive of a falling off in Indian immigration, and that, therefore, they were very reluctant to abandon the Chinese immigration, which they believed to be more certain than the Indian. Moreover, the Chinese just arrived in the *Agra*, and recently distributed, were said to be "very superior indeed to those shipped last season," and the consequence was that more applications were made, and the indent for Chinese immigrants increased to 600. But, in reporting these facts to the Duke of Newcastle on the 8th March, 1862, Governor Hincks expressed the fear that the existing establishments of the Chinese agency were "on a most extravagant scale, and that, unless they could be materially reduced, the cost *per caput* would be very great."

Then followed several sessions of the Court of Policy for the purpose of drafting the annual estimates, and much discussion took place on the subject of immigration. One of the unofficial members of the Court proposed the abandonment of Chinese immigration, but his motion was not seconded, and the other four unofficial members availed themselves of the opportunity of stating

that the Chinese immigrants had been very valuable labourers, and, when properly managed, had given satisfaction. At the conclusion of the speeches, Governor Hincks expressed his surprise that, if the Chinese had given such general satisfaction, the applications for them for next season should be so few in comparison with those for Calcutta coolies. The chief advocate for Chinese immigration replied that it was well known that the demand for Indians could not be supplied, and that there was consequently no hesitation in applying for many more than could conveniently be taken, whereas the Chinese applications were limited to the *bona fide* wants of the planters. The Governor explained to the Court that the expenses of Chinese immigration would be very much increased, if the demand should be as small as that which had so far been made, namely, about two cargoes of from 300 to 350 adults each ; and the members of the Court were of opinion that a mercantile agency was most likely to give satisfaction. In reporting this debate to the Duke of Newcastle on the 21st March, 1862, Governor Hincks so far modified his previous opinion as to write :—" The accounts from India as to the prospects of extensive emigration from that country " are so unsatisfactory that it seems desirable not " to abandon Chinese emigration. . . . I " fear that it will be found impossible for Mr. " Austin to bring the cost down to anything like " the present vote \$125* ; but I think he ought at " once to abandon two of the sub-agencies and to " confine himself to the one which has been found " most eligible."

* That is, \$125 per caput for each immigrant. As a matter of fact Mr. Austin's expenditure, as shown in Chapter VI., was \$125 a head in the season 1859-60, \$120 a head in the season 1860-1, and \$139 a head in the season 1861-2.

**Requisition made
for 905
Chinese
for season
1862-3.**

As the result of this debate, efforts, characterized by Governor Hincks as "injudicious," were made to stimulate the demand for Chinese immigrants ; and at the end of March the Government Secretary authorized Mr. Austin "to engage two shiploads of Chinese" for this Colony of from 350 to 400 statute adults "each." Subsequently, in a despatch dated the 22nd May, 1862, Governor Hincks wrote that the total number of Chinese immigrants applied for had risen to 905. But, at a meeting of the West India Committee, which took place on the 24th June, 1862, for the purpose of hearing a statement by Mr. Austin, who had recently arrived in England, with respect to emigration from China to the West Indies, it was considered inexpedient on the ground of economy to discontinue the establishments, which he had formed in China. It appeared, however, to the Committee that these establishments could not be maintained unless a larger number of emigrants were required than had already been ordered in the Colony ; and it was, therefore, resolved that the Committee should meet again, after a sufficient time had been given for consideration, in order to determine whether the requisite number might not be subscribed for by proprietors in England. Mr. Stephen Cave, the Chairman of the West India Committee, communicated this resolution to the Colonial Office in a letter dated the 27th June, 1862, and requested that any instructions for the abandonment of the establishments in China might be delayed until after the next meeting of the Committee, and that Governor Hincks should be informed of the possible increase in the number of immigrants for the coming season. In forwarding this letter to British Guiana, the Duke of Newcastle wrote that

an increase to about 1,500 Chinese immigrants was contemplated, and that he had no objection to this, if the enlargement of the immigration presented no financial difficulty. But, on the 8th July, 1862, Mr. Cave in a further letter explained that intelligence had been received from British Guiana, by a recent mail, that two ship-loads of East Indians had unexpectedly arrived from Madras ; that most of these coolies had been placed on the estates of those proprietors, who had contemplated taking on an additional number of Chinese ; and that under the circumstances it would not be prudent to subscribe for more than the 905, for whom a requisition had already been sent to Hongkong. Thus, after much diversity of opinion, suggestions being made in February, that no Chinese immigrants were needed for the season 1862-3, while in June it was estimated that 1,500 would be required, the indent was finally settled in July at 905.

**Adverse
criticism
of Mr.
Austin.**

Meanwhile on the 15th April, 1862, Governor Hincks had expressed to the Duke of Newcastle the view, which he believed to be held by the leading planters of the Colony, that Mr. Austin had "a very extravagant idea of the "value and importance of his own services ;" that it was "extremely improbable that any satisfactory arrangement could be made with him for "continuing the agency ;" that his salary--"supplemented as he had made it by very heavy "personal allowances"—was excessive ; that several items charged in the accounts of his sub-agents, such as champagne, repairing fish-pond, making flower-beds, seats in Church, etc., could not properly be charged to a general expense account ; and that "some system should be

"adopted for a limited Chinese emigration, the present arrangement being on much too expensive a scale." Mr. Austin was also attacked by the West India Association of Glasgow upon the grounds (a) that the Chinese Emigrants sent by him to British Guiana "were totally unaccustomed to agricultural pursuits and of a low class from towns;" (b) that the expense which had attended their introduction was "enormous;" and (c) that not only did Mr. Austin receive liberal remuneration, but he had sub-agents receiving large salaries and allowances, one of whom actually resided at Hongkong, where Mr. Austin's headquarters were.

**Decision
to reduce
emigration
establishment
in China.**

On Mr. Austin's arrival in London, the Emigration Commissioners had an interview with him and reported to the Colonial office on the 5th June, 1862, that his health was so precarious that he was scarcely in a condition to enter on the general question. One thing, however, was clear,—namely, that, if the indents for Chinese emigrants were in future to be lower than 1,000 a year, immediate steps should be taken to reduce the establishments in China: and on the 12th June, 1862, the Duke of Newcastle instructed the Governor of Hongkong "to reduce as much as possible without delay the expenses at present incurred by the Colony of British Guiana for the emigration establishments at Hongkong and in China."

**Mr.
Austin's
reply to
his critics.**

It must have been a bitter disappointment to Mr. Austin that the organization, which he had so successfully elaborated, should be so soon destroyed—owing (as he felt) to misunderstandings both in England and Deme-

rara. Indeed, he had little difficulty in proving by a long* memorandum dated the 1st August, 1862, that there was no force in the criticisms directed against him by Governor Hincks and the West India Association of Glasgow. As regards the items of expenditure specially animadverted upon by the former, Mr. Austin observed that the practice "of securing the goodwill of the "Mandarin by small presents such as champagne, cherry brandy, sweet meats,—and a "watch on one occasion at the suggestion of "Sir Harry Parkes,—appeared to be particularly "judicious as in accordance with the customs "of the country": that the flower-beds and fish-pond at the Canton depôt were made, or repaired, because the then appearance of the premises (a mass of ruins from bombardment by Sir M. Seymour) was not creditable, or even advantageous, to a public establishment, the appearance of which was of great importance in attracting emigrants: and that he sanctioned the charge of some \$20 for the support of the English chapel at Canton, because he considered it his duty to give the clerks having slender salaries the means of attending public worship. With respect to the general charge of extravagance, Mr. Austin demonstrated by means of the figures given in the last chapter that he had kept well within the limits of his credit; that his expenditure contrasted favourably with that incurred in connexion with Chinese emigrants introduced into the West Indies at an earlier period; that he could not have coped with the increased demands of British Guiana in the season 1861-2 without establishing sub-agencies and extending the field of operations; and that, had these demands continued, there would in future seasons have been a decrease in the *per caput* cost of the

emigration. To the complaint that the Chinese emigrants sent by him to Demerara were "totally unaccustomed to agricultural pursuits and of a low class from towns," Mr. Austin replied by quoting from the official reports of Mr. J. Crosby, the Immigration Agent General, many expressions of admiration of these emigrants, adding that Mr. H. E. Crum Ewing of the West India Association of Glasgow could himself corroborate these reports from letters lately written by one of his managers, as also could Mr. Stewart, "the representative, when in the Colony, of the two most eminent West India firms, namely, Messrs. Thomas Daniel and Company, and Messrs. Cavan, Lubbock and Company." He also quoted from a letter of Mr. J. Ross of Plantation Skeldon in Berbice forwarded in original to Mr. T. W. C. Murdoch on the 25th June, 1862, as follows :—"The manager of Skeldon writes :—'I find the Chinese invaluable for field labour and have since found that they are equally useful in the buildings.' On the two estates that I am personally connected with we have nearly 200 and 100 respectively, and the mortality on both has been extremely small, much less so than it would have been in a corresponding number of Indian emigrants. As far as I am concerned myself, and as far as my experience goes, I infinitely prefer the Chinese to any class of immigrants I have previously had on the estates."

**Class of
emigrants
recruited.**

This question of the class of emigrants selected was much misunderstood. The Chinese, as Mr. Sampson afterwards pointed out, are a race of gardeners rather than of agriculturists. In the early spring, the ploughing of their rice-fields in

south China is done by a few labourers, generally such as the emigration agents would have rejected on account of their old age. A few light hands,—men, women and children,—are put on for a few days, when the rice is being planted out. Little attention is then needed until the crop is ready for cutting, when every available hand is called into requisition, but for a few days only. All the village friends and relatives, who are at other times at work in the cities, go home to help to gather the harvest. This done, they return to their town occupations. The threshing is completed at leisure by hands unfit for town labour. The ground is reploughed, the paddy replanted, and the second harvest gathered in as before. Then, during the winter, the land lies fallow, or patches of it are converted into kitchen-gardens. In the growth of mulberry plants for silk, and of sugar canes, still less labour seems to be required. In some districts all field-work is done by women, while the men take the produce to market for sale. In short, the primitive and leisurely style of agriculture, adopted in South China, does not call forth much muscular exertion. Prolonged labour, rather than hard labour, is the peculiar *forte* of the Chinese, and the country-folk are often so badly fed that they are physically inferior to town coolies. These considerations led Mr. Sampson to conclude that, while there was much scope for selection as to physical and moral qualities, and admitting that the emigrants sent to the West Indies did not represent the very best class of labouring Chinese in either respect, *bona fide* agriculturists, that is, a class of people broadly demarcated from non-agriculturists, were not as a rule to be obtained in China, simply because they did not exist.

**Reduction
of emigra-
tion estab-
lishments
in China.**

But the decision to reduce the emigration establishments in China had already been taken. On the 7th August, 1862, the Duke of Newcastle's instructions reached the officer administering the Government of Hongkong, Mr. W. T. Mercer, who directed that letters should be written to Messrs. Maxwell, Fitzgibbon, and Rubery, the agents at Swatow, Amoy and Hang-tsai, respectively, giving them notice that their services would no longer be required, and that their salaries and allowances would cease at the end of three months. A similar letter was sent to Mr. Charles W. Austin of the firm of Jardine, Matheson and Coy., who represented himself to be acting in Hongkong on behalf of his father, Mr. J. G. Austin. At the same time Mr. T. Sampson, the agent at Canton, was informed that British Guiana would not require more than the 700* emigrants already ordered, and was directed to reduce his staff and expenses in proportion. The premises rented from month to month at Hang-tsai were given up at once. At Hongkong Mr. C. W. Austin had, prior to the receipt of the letter from the Government, under instructions from his father, given up the buildings rented for a depôt and dismissed all clerks, writers, etc., with the exception of one, whose services he was obliged to retain in closing matters. He, however, kept on two rooms at Wanchai,† used as an office, as well as the receiving ship, for the safety of which it was necessary

* This is the figure given in Governor Hincks' despatch of the 21st March, 1862 : and it was increased to 905 in his despatch of the 22nd May, 1862.

† Wanchai, more correctly written Wan-tsai 灣仔, is the name of a part of Victoria City on Hong-kong Island.

to employ a European sailor and six Chinese seamen. At Amoy Mr. Fitzgibbon agreed, without remuneration, to continue to make payments, which varied from £10 to £20 a month, to the relatives of emigrants then in the West Indies; and the land there could have been sold for what it cost, had not Mr. C. W. Austin been instructed by his father to pursue a different course. Some embarrassment was also created, as Mr. C. W. Austin received orders from the Emigration Commissioners for 900 immigrants to be sent in the season 1862-3, instead of 700 as stated in the Duke of Newcastle's despatch. Moreover, the firm, through which all payments on account of the British West Indian Agency had been made, was \$5,000 in advance of the funds received—in other words, the Colony of British Guiana was in debt to that amount.

**Diffi-
culty of
financing
emigra-
tion over-
come.**

The difficulty with respect to funds arose in the following manner. Mr. J. G. Austin, when about to leave China, appointed his son Charles to be his *locum tenens* under a power of attorney. This appointment terminated on the 15th November, 1862, and thereafter the charge of the British West India Agency devolved on Mr. Sampson, who applied to Mr. C. W. Austin to procure from Messrs. Jardine, Matheson and Company the necessary funds for the service. This Mr. C. W. Austin declined to do; and Messrs. Jardine, Matheson and Company were unwilling to continue to Mr. Sampson the accommodation they had afforded to Mr. Austin. The matter was adjusted by instructions, sent on the 10th December, 1862, by the Duke of Newcastle to Mr. W. T. Mercer, desiring the Government of Hongkong to make to Mr. Sampson the advances necessary for the conduct of the emigra-

tion service, taking from him bills to an equivalent value drawn in favour of the Hongkong Government, to be accepted by the Emigration Commissioners in London, and to be payable by Messrs. Prescott, Grote and Company, the bankers of the Colony of British Guiana. At the same time Governor Hincks was directed to instruct Messrs. Prescott, Grote and Company to honour any bills drawn on them by Mr. Sampson on account of the emigration service of British Guiana in China, and payable by the Emigration Commissioners at their bank.

**Ordinance
No. 17 of
1862.** Ample funds had been made available for this purpose by a resolution passed by the Combined Court on the 19th May, 1862, to which effect

was given by an Ordinance (No. 17 of 1862) passed on the 2nd October, 1862, by the Court of Policy, extending the provisions of Ordinance No. 5 of 1860, so as to enable the Loan Commissioners to raise, whenever necessary, an additional sum not exceeding £50,000 for payment of the cost of introducing Chinese emigrants. The total authorized issue of bonds was thus increased from £100,000 to £150,000. The royal assent to this Ordinance was communicated to Governor Hincks by the Duke of Newcastle on the 4th December, 1862. Thus, by a curious irony of fate, more liberal provision than ever was made for Chinese immigration into British Guiana at the moment when the termination of such immigration was being resolved upon.

**Discussion
as to port
in China
most suitable
for
emigration.** A more serious difficulty was presented by the question as to the port from which Chinese emigration on the reduced scale could be conducted to the best advantage. The Emigration Commissioners had suggested on the 5th June, 1862, that the dépôts

of Hongkong and Canton should be alone retained, and that the other agencies should be brought to a close at once. It was assumed by the Commissioners, very much on information obtained verbally from Sir Harry Parkes, that the small number of emigrants required for the season 1862-3, might be obtained in Canton and Hongkong, without having recourse to the worthless population of the towns ; it was felt that at Canton and Hongkong alone would it be practicable for the Government to control the operations of the subordinate agents, who (after the withdrawal of Mr. J. G. Austin) would at the more distant ports be practically independent ; and the Commissioners had also in mind Mr. Austin's statement that only from Hongkong could it be expected that there would be any considerable emigration of females. But, although Canton might supply a small number of eligible emigrants, the number could not be much increased without risk of deteriorating the emigration : and it was believed that it would be very difficult in a large emigration to escape imposition in the midst of a population so cunning and artful as that of Canton. The Emigration Commissioners wrote on the 3rd December, 1862, that Mr. J. G. Austin had urged them very strongly that, if the emigration were continued, the emigrants should be drawn from Amoy rather than Canton, as being an agricultural, docile and well-behaved people ; they pointed out that the building in Amoy, held at a monthly rent, could not, under any circumstances, be given up before the 31st December, 1862, though probably it might be sublet, if so desired ; and they recalled the fact that intermixture of Chinese from different districts in the same ship had been found extremely inconvenient and even dangerous, and that it was, therefore, desirable to draw all the emigrants

if possible, from the same source. Similarly Governor Hincks wrote on the 23rd August, 1862, that the unanimous opinion of the leading planters was "that a preference should be given to Amoy over Canton and Swatow, and especially the former, as a place for recruiting Chinese emigrants," adding that the class of people which had been sent from Amoy was decidedly superior, while those from Canton had always been an inferior class, but that there seemed to be a difficulty about obtaining females in Amoy. Again, on the 3rd September, 1862, after the arrival of the *Lady Elma Bruce* from Amoy and the *Sir George Seymour* from Canton, Governor Hincks wrote that the comparison drawn between the immigrants by these two ships had "strengthened the feeling of preference among the planters for Amoy over Canton." It was recognized that the receiving ship at Hongkong was necessary, as that Colony would continue to be the ultimate port of departure and a portion of the emigrants, especially the females, must continue to be drawn from its vicinity : but a prolonged discussion was carried on between Georgetown, London and Canton as to the scale on which operations should be conducted.

**Views of
Governor
Hincks.**

Governor Hincks, in a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle dated the 6th March, 1862, regretted that even then he was hardly in a position to communicate any decided views on the part of his Government. "The fact is," he wrote, "that the unofficial members of the Court of Policy have been in correspondence on the subject with gentlemen in England, who are deeply interested in the question, and the information that I have received indirectly is so important, though at the

“ same time so vague, that I venture to recom-
 “ mend that the Emigration Commissioners should
 “ communicate, if they have not already done so,
 “ with the gentlemen who compose the West
 “ India Committee and receive their views as
 “ an embodiment of those entertained in the
 “ Colony. . . . The opinion here is de-
 “ cidedly against Canton as the port of departure ;
 “ and, as it was presumed that it would be neces-
 “ sary to have an agency at a northern port, and
 “ as property had been purchased at Swatow, our
 “ idea was that it would be necessary to maintain
 “ an agency both at Hongkong and Swatow. But
 “ our latest news leads me to think that the pro-
 “ prietors in London connected with the Colony
 “ would give the preference to Shanghai, in which
 “ case I have no doubt whatever that the Court of
 “ Policy would concur with them. In that case
 “ probably one agency would be sufficient. . . .
 “ If the Reverend Mr. Lobscheid would undertake
 “ to act as agent for the Colony, his appointment
 “ would be most satisfactory to the Court of
 “ Policy. I hardly think that Mr. Lobschied could
 “ undertake the financial business or the charter-
 “ ing of ships ; but, if a respectable mercantile
 “ firm, at Hongkong or Shanghai as might be
 “ determined, were to undertake those duties,
 “ having a credit on the bankers for the Colony,
 “ Messrs. Prescott, Grote and Company, Mr.
 “ Lobscheid might, I think, perform the other
 “ duties of agent.” In conclusion, Governor
 Hincks expressed a decided opinion that it was
 not safe to calculate on a very large immigration ;
 and in a further despatch dated the 7th April,
 1863, he wrote :—“ I think that I am justified
 “ in believing that the applications for 1863-4 have
 “ all been sent in, and the result is a demand for
 “ East Indians to the extent of 2,500 and of

" Chinese to that of 450. In round figures the
 " demand is 1,500 short of last year, which was
 " considerably less than the preceding one. The
 " price of sugar is, no doubt, the principal cause
 " of the decline ; but I cannot but attribute it like-
 " wise to the greater readiness of the uninden-
 " tured labourers to work. I must admit that my
 " own opinion is not favourable under existing
 " circumstances to the continuance of Chinese
 " immigration. I see no reason to doubt that
 " India will fully supply the demand for labour,
 " and that the demand is too limited to justify the
 " expense of two agencies. There are a few
 " influential proprietors, however, who think very
 " highly of the Chinese as labourers, and who are
 " sanguine that the cost of importing them can be
 " materially reduced. For my own part, I have
 " no information before me which would justify
 " me in arriving at such a conclusion. The rate of
 " passage money must always be higher from a
 " Chinese port than from Calcutta ; and, if, in addi-
 " tion to this and to the expenses of a double
 " agency, there are charges for allotments and
 " advances, the cost will be so great that the de-
 " mand will continue limited. Moreover, as under
 " the new system the planters will have to bear
 " two-thirds of the actual cost, I cannot but fear
 " that the loss by Chinese women will be thrown
 " to a great extent on the planters, who only
 " employ East Indians."

**Advice of
 the Emi-
 gration
 Commis-
 sioners.**

The Duke of Newcastle referred both these despatches to the Emigration Commissioners, who on the 4th May, 1863, had an interview with Mr. McGregor, the Secretary of the West India Committee, on the subject. Mr. McGregor stated that, in the then

depressed condition of the sugar market, the West India Committee were not prepared to recommend any emigration from China to British Guiana. Had circumstances been more favourable, the Committee would have proposed that the Government should avail itself of the services of Mr. Lay and Captain Sherard Osborn to superintend the emigration, by which they anticipated a considerable saving of expense; and this would have necessitated drawing the emigrants from Shanghai or its neighbourhood, where Mr. Lay was stationed. As, however, the demand in British Guiana for the season 1863-4 amounted only to 450 Chinese immigrants, the Emigration Commissioners considered it more economical to leave Mr. Sampson in charge, and they doubted whether emigrants drawn from Shanghai would be as well suited to the climate of British Guiana as those from a more southern district. On the other hand, the emigrants from Amoy and Swatow had given great satisfaction in British Guiana, those from Amoy especially being reported to be docile, industrious, intelligent and accustomed to the cultivation of sugar cane. The climate of Amoy and Swatow approached nearer to that of the West Indies than the climate of Shanghai, and it would not be difficult to make Hongkong the final port of departure for emigrants from these localities. The Commissioners, therefore, concluded that, whenever emigration from China to the West Indies revived sufficiently to justify an increased establishment, emigrants should as far as possible be drawn from the neighbourhood of Amoy and Swatow.

**Chartering
ships and
collecting
emigrants
not to be
placed in
different
hands.**

The suggestion that Mr. Lobscheid should be employed as agent did not commend itself to the Emigration Commissioners, whose experience led them to doubt very much whether the collection of emigrants and the chartering of ships could conveniently or economically be placed in different hands. "None but those who have had experience of the service," wrote Mr. Murdoch on the 7th May, 1863, "can understand the constant vigilance necessary to adjust the chartering of ships to the collection of emigrants, and the manner in which (to ensure economy) the one must be made to play into the other. But this can only be done when both are in the same hands. Again, it may be doubted whether, if the collecting agent is relieved from the financial part of the service, he will feel the same responsibility for its economical conduct, and it is certain that the mercantile firm will not. If, therefore, the British Guiana Government think that it would not be advisable to entrust the financial arrangements to Mr. Lobscheid, it would not be advisable to constitute him their selecting agent. In regard, however, to the appointment of an agent by a mercantile firm, I presume that the Duke of Newcastle will not assent to that suggestion. To entrust the selection of emigrants to the nominee of a mercantile firm is practically to entrust it to their comprador, who is a native, who again will employ native sub-agents, who will resort to the usual practice of deception and kidnapping to fill the ships. If there is one principle clearly established by the experience of the past years, it is that the emigration should be managed by an officer specially appointed for the purpose, and directly responsible to the Government for his operations.

“No such responsibility could be enforced against a mercantile firm.”

Duke of Newcastle authorizes continuance of emigration in Mr. Sampson's hands.

The Duke of Newcastle on the 14th May, 1863, expressed his concurrence in the views of the Emigration Commissioners and authorized the continuance in Mr. Sampson's hands of the Chinese emigration of the season 1863-4. Meanwhile, on the 2nd March, 1863, Messrs. Jardine, Matheson and Company approached the Hongkong Government with the request that they should be allowed to hand over to Mr. Sampson everything connected with the emigration agency, and that Mr. Sampson might be authorized to examine and settle their accounts. Both these requests were granted; and on the 4th March, 1863, Mr. Sampson was informed that the sum of \$10,000 would be advanced to him by the Hongkong Government upon the production of his receipt in duplicate for that amount, and that he would have to draw a bill on the Emigration Commissioners in favour of the Agents General of Crown Colonies for that amount at the current rate of exchange.

Despatch of the *Ganges*.

Being thus placed in funds, Mr. Sampson, whose operations were of necessity confined to Canton, reported on the 13th March, 1863, that he had chartered the ship *Ganges* to convey some 400 emigrants to British Guiana at the rate of £17. 18s. 6d. per adult, which—though high, owing to the scarcity of tonnage in Chinese waters—was proportioned to the then state of the freight market. The ship filled rapidly and was despatched from Canton on the 4th April, 1863, with 293 men, 100 women, 12 boys, 4 girls and 4 infants, a total of

413 souls. After a voyage of 85 days she reached Georgetown, and there landed from her 286 men, 92 women, 12 boys, 4 girls and 2 infants. Seventeen emigrants had died at sea, a mortality of 4.11%. The *Ganges* was the only emigrant-ship despatched to British Guiana from China during the season 1862-3, for Mr. Sampson was unable to obtain another vessel suitable in size and sailing quality for the advanced time of the year, and he was, therefore, compelled to bring his operations to a close after despatching only 413 emigrants out of an indent of 905. Thus for want of timely arrangement a season was almost entirely lost, and that too a season which, as Mr. Sampson pointed out, was—to judge by the brief experience of one month's work—most fruitful of men and women from the rural districts of the Kuang-tung province.

**Expendi-
ture dur-
ing season
1862-3.**

It is not surprising to find that operations so conducted proved to be most uneconomical. The expenditure on the emigration of the season 1862-3 amounted to \$19,601, giving an average on 396 emigrants (the number landed from the *Ganges*) of \$49.49 *per caput* equal at the exchange of 4s. 10d. to £11. 19s. 2d. To this must be added the cost of passages at the rate of £17. 18s. 6d. a head, making a total of £29. 17s. 8d. But, in addition to the above amount of \$19,601, there was an expenditure of \$31,637.82 (£7,645 16s. 2d.) during the season for services apparently unconnected with the *Ganges*. If this sum were chargeable to the 396 emigrants by that ship, it would add £19. 6s. 1d. a head to their cost, making a total of £49. 3s. 9d. But it is clear that a large part of this expenditure had nothing to do with the emigrants by the *Ganges*, and must have been

incurred whether they had been despatched or not. It would not, therefore, be just to Mr. Sampson to charge his operations with an expenditure, which resulted partly from a previous emigration, but chiefly from the extensive scale on which the emigration was originally planned and the suddenness with which it was afterwards contracted. This additional non-effective charge was in fact, the price which British Guiana had to pay for its vacillating policy with respect to Chinese emigration. Writing on the 28th April, 1863, Mr. Sampson estimated the monthly liabilities of the various agencies as they then stood as follows :—

Agency.	Salaries and Wages.	Rent.	Monthly Allotment of Wages.	Other Expenses.	TOTAL.
Hongkong ...	\$ 150	\$ 24	\$ 0	\$ 50	\$ 224
Canton ...	650	100	170	50	970
Amoy ...	125	23	150	10	308
Swatow ...	20	0	250	8	278
Total ...	\$ 945	\$ 147	\$ 570	\$ 118	\$ 1,780

Thus it will be seen that, although emigration operations were only being carried on at Canton, there were monthly disbursements at four agencies amounting to \$1,780, of which, however, some \$570 a month were recoverable from the wages being earned by Chinese emigrants in the West Indies. "If," wrote Mr. Sampson, "the emigration from China to the British West Indies is to be resumed to an extent of not less than 3,000 souls *per annum*, these disbursements are in my opinion being well and judiciously applied and

“ will in the end operate economically, for by thus
 “ supporting the name and reputation of the emi-
 “ gration popular prejudices are giving place to
 “ popular favour ; and, as a consequence of this,
 “ it may be expected that a rapid supply of emi-
 “ grants may check the expenses attending a long
 “ continuance of active operations. But, if emigra-
 “ gration is to be limited to 1,500 or 2,000 souls or
 “ less *per annum*, I would suggest that the agencies
 “ now existing in China are too numerous for the
 “ purpose, and that by buying up the allotments
 “ and selling off the property of those agencies,
 “ which are not required, a heavy pecuniary burden
 “ be taken off the *per caput* rate of the emigrants
 “ despatched by the agency or agencies retained.”

Decision to discontinue and commute allotments. The vexed question of allotments deserves some further explanation. The word “ allotment ” denoted that portion of a Chinese immigrant’s wage which was, at his request, paid to his relatives in China. Mr. J. G. Austin expressed the opinion that such allotments were in fact “ the corner stone ” of the emigration scheme, and in this opinion he was supported by the British Consuls at Amoy and Swatow. Both those officers described the feeling of clanship and the obligation of maintaining aged parents or relations as exceedingly strong among the Chinese, and they regarded the allotment system as the only means by which those feelings could be reconciled to the emigration of the younger and stronger members of families. But Governor Hincks, writing to the Duke of Newcastle on the 17th October, 1862, stated that there was a very general feeling of disapprobation of the allotment system in British Guiana, because as a rule the planters found it impossible, or at least inexpedi-

ent, to attempt to recover, from the immigrants either advances or allotments. In point of fact, therefore, the allotments were paid by the planters, being disbursed by the agents in China and forming part of the cost of immigration. No doubt the labourer was liable to refund them; but it was found impossible to make him do so, especially as all his earnings were required for his own support. "Unfortunately," wrote Governor Hincks in a further despatch dated the 6th March, 1863, "it has been held out by the planters, by the local Government and by the Emigration Agents, that much larger wages can be earned in British Guiana than what really are earned by the immigrants. Task work is universal, and a task is generally paid at the rate of 1s. 4d. It is alleged that an industrious man can perform two or three tasks in the day. I will not affirm that instances have not occurred in which individuals have performed three tasks in a day; but most assuredly they must have been exceptions to the general rule. Robust creole labourers and perhaps industrious immigrants may often perform one and a half, or perhaps two, tasks; but, as a general rule, the immigrants (and especially those who are in the first and second years of their service) are unable even to perform one task, and do not earn more than 10d. a day, and frequently not so much. These labourers, I assure Your Grace, cannot afford to support their relatives in China and the allotments, if paid, must fall (as they have done hitherto) on the employer. It is, therefore, my opinion that, if money has to be given, it is better that it should be as a gift than that it should be supposed that it is paid by the immigrant, when it is really paid by the planter. A less sum would, no doubt, be accepted under such circumstances."

The Duke of Newcastle communicated this despatch to the Emigration Commissioners, who replied on the 7th May, 1863, that, if the Chinese immigrants could not pay the allotments out of their wages, and if the planters were unwilling to bear the expense, there was "no alternative but to discontinue the promise of allotments for the future." As regards promises already made, good faith was, of course, kept with the immigrants; but the Commissioners directed Mr. Sampson to abstain from promising allotments in the case of Chinese thereafter to be sent to British Guiana. Mr. Sampson's own proposal that existing allotments should be bought up was considered by the Commissioners to be a matter not only of economy, but of necessity, if the sub-agencies in China were closed, as there would remain no one responsible to the Colonial Government through whom the payments could be made: and Mr. Sampson was instructed to ascertain and report what arrangements could be made, and at what cost, for purchasing up the outstanding claims to allotment allowances. He reported on the 13th November, 1863, that he had received advices from Swatow and Amoy to the effect that the allotments at those agencies "could be bought up by paying to the allottees a sum down equal to one-half of the sum of the monthly allotments otherwise payable during the then unexpired portion of the five years."

**Dis-
tinction
drawn
between
allot-
ments and
advances.**

However, on the 20th January, 1864, Mr. Stephen Cave, the Chairman of the West India Committee, represented to the Emigration Commissioners that a distinction ought to be drawn between advances, which were made to the emigrants before leaving China and recoverable from their wages in British Guiana,

and the allotments. With respect to advances the West India Committee considered that it would certainly be desirable to avoid them, if possible: but they held that the allotments stood upon a different ground, being the connecting link between the emigrant and his relatives in China. The Committee had made inquiries as to the possibility of recovering these allotments from the Chinese in British Guiana, and found that in several instances the estates' books showed that small sums had from time to time been received from the labourers on this account. They, therefore, expressed the hope that this practice might be extended to other estates upon which Chinese were employed.

It had always been the practice to make an advance of \$20 to each male adult, except during a great part of the season 1861-2 (namely, from November to the beginning of March), when \$10 only were given to single men, married men still receiving \$20. Mr. Sampson's experience of that time convinced him that, although the season 1861-2 certainly was an unusually unproductive one, the advance might advantageously be kept at \$10. On the other hand, Mr. J. G. Austin's experience in Hongkong led him to a different conclusion (accounted for by local causes), and, as uniformity was necessary, the advance at all the agencies was again raised to \$20. But, in a letter from Canton dated the 26th January, 1864, Mr. Sampson once more advocated this reduction, while adding that he hoped not to be positively restricted to a smaller advance, "as foreign competition might render an adherence to \$20 necessary." "In sanguine, I fear too sanguine, moments," he wrote, "I have looked forward to the time when emigrants would require no advance of wages, but would flock to the West Indies as they do to less distant parts of

“ the world. But it must be borne in mind that the
 “ test of an emigration system in the Chinese mind
 “ is the proved ability of the emigrants to return to
 “ China in the course of time with money. This
 “ proof has not yet been afforded to the public, nor
 “ to the authorities of Kuang-tung; and, although
 “ something has doubtless been effected by the
 “ payment of allotments and the receipt of letters,
 “ it is still very much up-hill work, still a battling
 “ against prejudices and doubts. It is these consi-
 “ derations which make me unwilling to part with
 “ the recommendatory features of the contract.”

For the same reason, Mr. Sampson lamented the decision to abandon the allotment system, especially as in Canton not more than 4% of the emigrants availed themselves of it: but, definite instructions having reached him to make no more allotments in future and to commute as soon as possible the existing allotments for a fixed sum, he had no option but to comply, thus breaking the chief link which connected the emigrants with their homes in China.

**Proposed
retention
of agency
at Canton.**

Mr. Sampson wrote with some hesitation as to the choice of the locality in which the Emigration Agent should in future be stationed, fearing that old associations and local sympathies might influence his judgment. Canton, however, recommended itself to him for various reasons, among which he mentioned its extensive river communication with the interior, the successful experiment already made there, its political importance as the seat of government of two large provinces, its proximity to Hongkong, and his own personal influence and knowledge. “ I believe,” he wrote on the 28th April, 1863, “ that Canton would
 “ supply 1,500 to 2,000 emigrants a year, provided

"no obstructions were caused by want of ships or funds, or other extraordinary circumstances." The West India Committee, after a consultation with Sir Harry Parkes in July, 1863, were convinced that the retention of Mr. Sampson's services was of great consequence to the future success of the undertaking: and, as Sir Harry Parkes himself promised to continue his co-operation, the Committee concluded that it would be desirable to continue Canton as the principal depôt, and leave Mr. Sampson to decide whether or not the depôt and sub-agent at Hongkong should be removed to Swatow, where a very suitable class of people might also be obtained. These views with respect to Canton were confirmed in a letter addressed by Mr. D. B. Robertson, the British Consul at Canton, to Sir Frederick Bruce. "Emigration under British auspices," he wrote, "is now so well understood and established at Canton that there requires only a demand to obtain a supply."

**Property
at Swatow
Sold.**

On the 10th August, 1863, Mr. Sampson reported that in Swatow, apart from two boats and a few moveables, the Agency held very eligible emigration premises, as well as the land on which they stood, but that these premises were so situated as to be available for no other purpose, and that Her Majesty's Consul at Swatow was of opinion that they would sell only for the value of the materials of which the building was composed, while the land would only sell as a kitchen garden site, the land and buildings together fetching probably not more than \$400, whereas they cost \$4,000. He was nevertheless directed to sell this property. It actually fetched \$345.

**Property
at Amoy
tem-
porarily
retained.**

At Amoy the property of the Agency consisted at the same date only of the lease of a house, which on a recent visit Mr. Sampson found in such poor condition that he was "glad to sublet it for one year (ending August, 1864), simply for the annual rental of \$90, thus "freeing the Agency from all outlay in respect "thereto." There was, however, a prospect that Mr. Fitzgibbon, then in England, might still be willing to take over this property at its original cost of \$1,010. For the moment, therefore, the Amoy property was retained.

**Season
of 1863.**

Meanwhile Governor Hincks intimated, in a despatch dated the 7th July, 1863, that the demand in British Guiana for Chinese immigrants was not likely to exceed 1,000 annually, and that for the approaching season 450 to 500 Chinese would amply satisfy it. The Duke of Newcastle accordingly authorized the Emigration Commissioners to instruct Mr. Sampson to ship as early as his arrangements would permit from 450 to 500 Chinese emigrants.

**Despatch
of the
Zouave.**

On receipt of these instructions Mr. Sampson issued a notice making known the opening of a depôt at Canton for the reception of emigrants as from the 2nd November, 1863, and engaged the ship *Zouave* to convey them to British Guiana at the rate of £15 per adult. This vessel was despatched from Canton on the 19th December, 1863, with 337 men, 157 women, 15 boys, 3 girls and 5 infants, a total of 517 souls. Such rapidity of despatch had not before been equalled from Canton at that season of the year : for Mr. Sampson remarked that the early part of the emigration

season, which according to regulations extended from the 15th September to the 30th April, usually proved to be the least prolific of emigrants to foreign countries ; but that, as Chinese New Year (which usually occurs in February) approached, and particularly for a few months after it had passed, emigration steadily increased and was at its height in April, just when the south-west monsoon in the sailing-ship days rendered the cessation of emigration to the West Indies compulsory. Another satisfactory point was that the proportion of females shipped in the *Zouave* was 45·4%, much larger than in any previous shipment. Nearly all these women were agriculturists from the interior, but very few of the male emigrants were so, Mr. Sampson's operations in the country having suffered from a revival of the coolie trade conducted in Macao for Cuba and Peru. The ship made a quick voyage of 70 days and there landed from her on the 28th February, 1864, at Georgetown, 336 men, 151 women, 14 boys, 1 girl and 7 infants, a total of 509 souls. Ten lives were lost during the voyage—a mortality of 1·93%.

Expenses
to end of
1863.

The expenses of the season in China up to the 31st December, 1863, amounted to \$32,022.19, of which \$27,272 were spent at Canton, \$350.19 in Hongkong, \$2,400 at Swatow (\$1,936 being for allotment of wages), and \$2,000 at Amoy (\$1,169 being for allotment of wages). This total divided by 500 statute adults landed in Georgetown gives ;—

	\$	c.
a <i>per caput</i> rate of	64	04
add to which the freight, £15 @ 4s. 6d. ...	66	66
and the pay of the doctor, interpreter, &c. ..	3	00
Total <i>per caput</i> rate	\$ 133	70

As, however, none of the expenses at Hong-kong, Swatow or Amoy were properly chargeable against the emigrants shipped in the *Zouave*, while \$1,252.50 of the expenditure at Canton was on account of allotment of wages, the total expenditure of the season ought, in justice to Mr. Sampson, to be reduced to \$26,019.50. The *per caput* rate thus becomes \$121.70, say £29. 8s. 9d., a slight reduction on the expenditure in connexion with the emigrants shipped by the *Ganges* in the previous season.



CHAPTER VIII.

A BRIEF REVIVAL (1864-6.)

**Arrange-
ments
in China
hampered
by fluc-
tuating
demand
from
British
Guiana.**

There can be no doubt that the main difficulty which had hitherto baffled the arrangements of the Colony's Emigration Agents in China was the fluctuating demand from the British West Indies. Mr. Sampson made this point very clear in a letter addressed to the Emigration Commissioners on the 28th April, 1863. He wrote :—" One
" of the most beneficial supports emigration
" could receive, particularly in a financial point
" of view, would be a fixed annual demand.
" A fluctuating demand, such as that for
" 3,500 in the season 1861-2 and only for
" 840 in the following season, entails much
" speculative expense and burdens with doubt,
" indecision and difficulties the minds both of
" those engaged in the emigration service and
" the emigrating classes of the Chinese people.
" The latter become bewildered with doubts
" and disappointments, the cause of which
" they cannot understand; and the service
" not only becomes denuded of its experi-
" enced officers, but is generally shunned as
" a regular occupation, on account of these
" uncertainties, by men of suitable habits and
" character."

Decision that British Guiana and Trinidad jointly should take 2,000 Chinese emigrants a year.

The West India Committee also drew attention to the matter in a letter dated the 31st July, 1863, in which they recommended that provision should be made for a regular supply of not less than 2,000 Chinese emigrants a year for at least three years. This proposal was taken up by Governor Hincks, who suggested to Governor Keate of Trinidad that an immigration of Chinese to the extent of 2,000 a year for three years should be undertaken for British Guiana and Trinidad, and that Trinidad should engage to take 750 of that number annually. The Legislative Council of Trinidad accepted this proposal: and, on the 10th February, 1864, the Emigration Commissioners conveyed to Mr. Sampson the necessary instructions for the engagement of 2,000 male adult labourers (exclusive of their proportion of women and children) for the next three seasons beginning with the season 1864-5, adding that of these immigrants 1,250 were to be sent each year to British Guiana and 750 to Trinidad.

Possible economies discussed:—
(1.) **In shipping the emigrants from China to the West Indies.**

One great difficulty being thus removed, the possibility of effecting economy in the cost of the proposed emigration was carefully considered. Emigration expenses fell into two main groups, namely, those incurred in recruiting emigrants in China; and those incurred in shipping emigrants from China to their destination. As regards the latter class of expenditure, Mr. Sampson made some very interesting observations in a letter dated the 26th January, 1864. No ship, he remarked, would

carry emigrants when the same amount of money could be made by carrying cargo, because (a) the emigrant-ship had the disadvantage of having to incur a large outlay for provisions and fittings : (b) the emigrants were more trouble than the cargo : (c) the risk of death and desertion of the emigrants was borne by the ship, which had thus to insure her own freight and could only do so for a total loss. The only compensating advantage, which the emigrant ship possessed, was the rapidity with which she discharged her cargo ; but, to counteract this again, the West Indies did not then offer so certain a prospect of outward freight as was the case in ports to which vessels carried cargo from China. Hence a ship-owner would with reason expect at least equal pay for an emigrant-ship as for a cargo ship. As an illustration, Mr. Sampson took the case of the *Zouave*, which he had just despatched from Canton to Georgetown. She took, say, 500 emigrants at £15, thus earning £7,500 : and she disbursed on account of each emigrant not less than £5, that is £2,500, leaving a balance of £5,000. How would she have fared if she had taken a cotton cargo ? Cotton freights were then at the moderate figure of £3. 10s. a ton for England. The *Zouave* would have carried at the very least 1,800 tons, which gives £6,300 ; and, as she would have had no disbursements to place against those incurred in provisioning the vessel for emigrants, this sum represents the gross earnings in contrast with the £5,000 earned by carrying emigrants. The length of the voyage to England and of that to the West Indies might, under the conditions then prevailing, be considered identical, and thus the cotton freight would have realized £1,300, or 26% more than the emigrant freight. Why then did she accept, and why had other vessels accepted, a rate of freight for emigrants inferior to freight

on cargo ? Mr. Sampson replied that the *Zouave* did so because there was at the time a superabundance of vessels on the cargo-berths ; in other words, she could not get cargo. And he believed that, in the case of most ships so far chartered in China for the emigration service, either they had been unable to get cargo, or they had been particularly desirous of a homeward freight, or had plumed themselves inconsiderately on the gross *per caput* figure of £15 (or whatever it had been) without duly weighing the debit items of disbursements, etc.

On the other hand, we find that the *Red Riding Hood* took emigrants from China to British Guiana in three successive years ; and it may be presumed that her first two voyages sufficed to guide the owners in making their tender for the third voyage, which was at the rate of £14. 17s. 6d. But it must be remembered that she was a vessel peculiarly adapted for the trade ; and, being chartered in England, she was enabled to save much of her China disbursements by bringing out her own provisions, water casks, etc. She was also a vessel likely to get a sugar cargo in the West Indies ; and in point of fact, three times in succession, she brought out a full cargo from England to China, took emigrants to Demerara, and sugar from the West Indies to England, performing the round on each occasion in twelve months. The only other vessel which took Chinese emigrants to the British West Indies more than once was the *Whirlwind* ; and on her second voyage she was chartered at a rate of £12 *per caput* exclusive of provisions, but inclusive of wood and water. This would make her freight equal to about £16 *per caput*. Again the *Agra* took emigrants in 1861 ; but, when in 1863, seeing her in the harbour of

Hongkong, Mr. Sampson called on the agents of the ship with a view to offering her another charter, he was told that the owners had found the previous voyage so "ruinous" that they would have nothing more to do with emigrants.

Shipping
obtained
at £14 per
statute
adult.

Accordingly, Mr. Sampson concluded that £14, which, in a despatch dated the 7th October, 1863, Governor Hincks had proposed as the cost of passages *per caput*, was a very low rate of freight, and one that would never be accepted in China when cargo even at the lowest rate was offering. In these circumstances the Emigration Commissioners put out advertisements in England calling for tenders by the 24th March, 1864. On that day they received a number of tenders, but only one, that of the *Queen of the East*, at a rate which could be accepted. This ship, which was at the time on a voyage to Australia under charter to the Emigration Commissioners was tendered at £13. 17s. 6d. for the 15th October, and at £12. 17s. 6d. for the 15th November. The Commissioners accepted her for the later date. Of the other tenders none were below £15, and the highest was £19. 19s. These tenders were, therefore, rejected; and an advertisement was put out for fresh tenders for the following week. On this second occasion the tenders again ranged from £15 to £19. 19s. The Commissioners, therefore, again declined to take any of them and decided to endeavour to effect an arrangement by private contract. Accordingly they entered into a negotiation with Messrs. Gregor, Turnbull and Company, the result of which was that those gentlemen undertook to provide three ships for Mr. Sampson, at dates specified by him, at the price of £14 *per* adult; and,

as these ships were smaller than those generally engaged in the trade, they further agreed to send a fourth ship to Canton, to be offered to Mr. Sampson at the same rate of £14 *per* adult, should his arrangements require it. The problem of freight for the season 1864-65 was thus satisfactorily solved.

(ii.) In
collecting
the emi-
grants in
China.

It was even more difficult to effect retrenchment in the recruiting expenses in China. The estimate made by the West India Committee was that, if 2,000 Chinese emigrants were taken annually for three years, the total cost would not be likely to exceed £25 *per* *caput*. Therefore, deducting £14 as the average cost of passage, there remained a balance of £11 *per* *caput* out of which all other expenses had to be met. Governor Hincks, in the despatch above referred to, assumed that in an emigration on this scale the annual cost of "Permanent Establishment," (including "Fixed Salaries," "Rent," "Office Contingencies," and "Travelling Expenses" of Agent) would not exceed \$9,000, that is, \$4.50 *per* *caput*. The other local charges he estimated as follows : —

	\$	c.
Advances to men \$10 and gratuities to women \$20, and if the women were $\frac{1}{3}$ th the number of the men, the average would be <i>per</i> statute adult	12	50
Clothing <i>per</i> kit	3	50
Consular and other fees	3	00
House and ship rations	2	50
Ship disbursements	1	00
Miscellaneous expenses (including capitation allowance to surgeon, recruiters, etc.) ...	6	00
Fixed establishment	4	50
	<hr/> \$ 33 00 <hr/>	

	£	s.	d.
This sum, at 4s. 10d. the dollar, would be ...	7	19	6
Add (a) freight ...	14	0	0
(b) gratuities, etc., payable in British Guiana ...		15	10
Total cost <i>per caput</i> ...	£ 22	15	4

In considering all such estimates as this, it must be borne in mind that the value of the dollar in China, at this time, was subject to very great variations, being sometimes as high as 5s. 6d. and at other times as low as 4s. 6d. This was a contingency against which it was impossible to guard, and which was apt to vitiate the most careful estimates. But, apart from this consideration, Governor Hincks had left out of his calculations the sums required to meet the payment of allotments in Canton, Swatow and Amoy. These charges were reported by Mr. Sampson on the 26th January, 1864, to be as follows :—

On account of British Guiana ...	\$ 567	<i>per mensem</i>
On account of Trinidad ...	42	<i>per mensem</i>
Renumeration for paying same in Swatow and Amoy ...	120	<i>per mensem</i>
Total ...	\$ 729	<i>per mensem</i>

Neglecting, however, both these matters, Mr. Sampson calculated that the estimate of \$9,000 *per annum* for Fixed Establishment was \$600 too low. His own estimate showed that these charges would be at the rate of \$800 a month, to be disbursed as follows :—

Mr. Sampson's salary ...	\$ 450
Interpreter's salary ...	40
Clerk's salary ...	50
Doctor's salary ...	10
Boatman, watchmen, etc. ...	32
Rent ...	100
Shiu-hing branch ...	33
Commission, travelling contingencies, etc. ...	85
Total ...	\$ 800 <i>p.m.</i>

**Mr.
Sampson's
explanation
of
items of
expendi-
ture.**

In explanation of these items, Mr. Sampson wrote that it would be unwise to part with the so-called interpreter, who was a gentleman of repute in Chinese society, and whose name was so identified with British emigration in Canton that it would be a serious matter to lose him. The clerk's services might well be dispensed with during the interval between two seasons, namely, for four and a half months out of twelve ; but then the Agent would be burdened every year with inexperienced aid and might fail to secure an eligible clerk when wanted, suitable persons being seldom to be found in want of employment in China. Moreover, unless the clerk was retained on the permanent staff, there would be no person in China competent to take charge in the event of sickness or death of the Agent ; and much inconvenience and loss might thereby be occasioned. It would be "suicidal," he thought, to part with the Doctor, whose place it would be difficult to fill so satisfactorily. The boatmen were necessary for personal locomotion "where water supplies the place of roads," and the watchmen were indispensable to guard against burglars. As regards the Shiu-hing* branch, Mr. Sampson explained that it was situated eighty miles inland from Canton, and that its function was to act as a feeder for the Canton agency, not to engage emigrants, but to receive and forward them to the Agent for engagement or rejection. This branch had existed since the time of Mr. J. G. Austin and was calculated and intended to supersede the use of "recruiters" in collecting emigrants. The employ-

* 肇慶 : a prefectural town, formerly the capital of Kuang-tung province ; Lat. 23°, 5' N ; Long. 112°, 30' E.

ment of recruiters, wrote Mr. Sampson, "is attended with great difficulty in China. If they are paid a monthly salary, they will do nothing so soon as they get beyond observation : if a *per caput* rate, the utmost vigilance will not prevent a system of crimping closely allied to kidnapping. Mr. Austin employed recruiters for the Hongkong agency ; but I believe he eventually considered that the plan proved objectionable. In Canton I have not, beyond one or two very small experiments, adopted the plan, except in the case of women, and in their case the usages of the country render some such method absolutely necessary. But, in spite of all my assiduity in guarding against the evils, which I know to threaten the recruiting system, I am not without an instance of a tolerably clear case of kidnapping escaping my notice, though detected in time to be remedied before the ship sailed."

**Total cost
of Chinese
emigration
estimated
by Mr.
Sampson
as £23. 4s.
per adult.**

Mr. Sampson gave it as his opinion that sub-agencies, such as those established at Amoy and Swatow, would not be needed for an emigration of 2,000 a year, and that the receiving-ship at Hongkong should be sold for what she would fetch : but he proposed to have, if required, a "branch agency" in Hongkong similar to that at Shiu-hing. With respect to the other items of expenditure, Mr. Sampson said that he still advocated a reduction in the advances made to emigrants, and that he would have made such reductions, in the case of the *Ganges*, but for the late period of the season at which she came on the berth ; and, in the case of the *Zouave*, but for the drawback which his prospectus already presented in the eyes of the Chinese public by the non-issue of allot-

ments. The cost *per kit* for clothing, he said, had been under-estimated by Governor Hincks, for the price of cotton had raised the cost of clothing to about \$6 a kit, with the prospect of its rising still higher as cotton became dearer. On the whole, therefore, Mr. Sampson concluded that under ordinary circumstances, without serious foreign competition and entirely exclusive of allotments and of any expenses which the receiving-ship at Hongkong might involve, an emigration might be conducted to an extent to which one permanent agency at Canton, with branches at Shiu-hing and possibly Hongkong, would prove adequate at an average cost from year to year not exceeding a monthly rate of \$800 for "fixed establishment" and a *per caput* rate for each adult emigrant of \$30, made up as follows :—

Advances to males or gratuities to females, say...	\$ 14
Clothing, <i>per kit</i>	6
Consular and other fees	3
Miscellaneous	7
	—
Total	\$ 30
	—

Thus, assuming with Governor Hincks an exchange rate of 4s. 10d. to the dollar, Mr. Sampson's estimate for expenses in China was £8. 8s. 2d. *per caput* as against the Governor's estimate of £7. 19s. 6d. : and, accepting the Governor's figures for freight and for gratuities payable in British Guiana, Mr. Sampson calculated the cost of each Chinese emigrant landed at Georgetown to be £23. 4s., that is, 8s. 8d. more than the estimate framed by Governor Hincks, and £1. 16s. less than the estimate made by the West India Committee. This estimate was, however, liable to be increased by any rise, or decreased by any fall, in the sterling value of the dollar in China.

**Operations
of season
1864-5.**

The indent of British Guiana for Chinese immigrants was increased in June, 1864, from 1,250 to 1,500 male adults, exclusive of women and children : and Mr. Sampson commenced the operations of the season by despatching the *Brechin Castle* from Canton on the 18th October, 1864. Five vessels in all were sent to British Guiana, the last of which reached Georgetown on the 28th August, 1865. The total number of emigrants for Demerara embarked at Canton during the season was 1,768 souls, of whom 1,290 were men, 416 women, 56 boys, 2 girls and 4 infants ; while the total number landed at Georgetown was 1,691 souls, of whom 1,244 were men, 384 women, 52 boys, 2 girls and 9 infants. Eighty-three deaths occurred during the voyages, a mortality of 4'69% : and, neglecting the infants whose sex is not recorded, the percentage of females actually disembarked was 22'9%. The Colony's indent was thus well filled : but the mortality on the last two ships of the season, the *Arima* and the *Bucton Castle*, was unusually high, being 10'28% and 8'49%, respectively.

**Relative
mortality
in large
and small
ships.**

This caused Mr. Crosby, the Immigration Agent General, to draw attention to the fact that the average tonnage of the ships chartered for British Guiana during this season was only 787 tons, one of them having been as small as 537 tons, and to repeat his opinion as to the disadvantage of taking up ships of a less size than 1,000 tons for the conveyance of emigrants. To this the Emigration Commissioners somewhat tartly rejoined that they were, of course, fully aware of the disadvantage, but that Mr. Crosby did not appear to perceive that

they had no choice in the matter, as the owners of large ships would not offer them for Chinese emigrants except at a price far beyond that which the colonists of British Guiana were willing to pay. The Commissioners were, therefore, compelled to accept small ships, which alone came within the price they were authorized to pay. In this connexion it is interesting to note that, in a letter dated the 12th October, 1866, the Commissioners examined the statistics of Chinese emigration to British Guiana from the season 1859-60 up to that date, and found that the ships of 900 tons and upwards employed in the service were 12, and the ships under 700 tons were 8. In the former the death-rate averaged 2·4% on 5,312 emigrants, and in the latter 2·5% on 2,373: so that the rate of mortality in the largest and smallest classes of vessels was nearly the same. In the remaining medium-sized ships, which ranged from 700 to 900 tons, the mortality was greater, namely, 4·4% on 3,987 emigrants. These statistics confirmed the Emigration Commissioners in the opinion, expressed by them in 1859, that the experience of the relative mortality in small and large ships, would not warrant them in laying down a stringent rule on the subject.*

**Franco-
Cuban
competi-
tion in
season
1865-6.**

In the season of 1865-6 British Guiana had agreed to take 1,250 Chinese emigrants and Trinidad 750. But now begins a chapter of misfortunes. Hitherto, the Agency for the British West Indies had not been faced by any serious competition. In the year 1862 one ship only was despatched from China to Havana with 356 emigrants. In the following year three ships had embarked 1,045 Chinese emi-

* See page 66 *supra*.

grants for Havana : and during 1864 seven ships left China with 2,664 emigrants for Havana. But on the 13th March, 1865, Mr. Sampson reported that Franco-Cuban competition was severe. "I understand," he wrote, "that the Chinese authorities continued to refuse their sanction until compelled to give way before French pressure. The French-Cuban House, a few doors from my own, certainly was opened on the 4th instant without the recognition of the Chinese authorities, and a determination thus evinced to carry their point against all obstacles, and at the present moment there is not that accord which it is desirable to see in emigration matters. The Franco-Cuban prospectus also was published in Chinese on the 4th instant. . . . Nearly the whole of it (in Chinese) is copied word for word, with certain additions and suppressions necessitated by the altered circumstances, from parts of Mr. Austin's prospectus of 5th November, 1859." A month later, on the 27th April, 1865, Mr Sampson reported that the Franco-Cuban competition had reduced his operations so completely that he had been compelled to raise his advance to \$20 for each emigrant. "It is distressingly evident," he wrote, "that, where competing emigration establishments exist, those which spend most money and are the least scrupulous in their plans of operation secure the most and the best emigrants." He, therefore, recommended that the tonnage engaged in England for Canton should not exceed sufficient for 1,000 emigrants, and that it should be left to his discretion to load the ships either at Canton, Swatow or Amoy. These recommendations were perforce approved, and the indent for the season 1865-6 was thus reduced by a half, 625 emigrants being ordered for British Guiana and 375 for Trinidad.

The Emigration Commissioners were again unable to obtain satisfactory tenders in reply to their advertisement for ships, the offers sent in ranging from £14. 19s. to £19. 19s. *per statute adult*. They, therefore, entered into communication with some of the principal ship-owners and again succeeded in arranging for the necessary shipping at the rate of £14 *per statute adult*.

**Mutinies
in emi-
grant
ships.**

But, with the revival of emigration to Cuba, there revived also an exceedingly unpleasant feature of that emigration, namely, the insubordination of the Chinese emigrants. An interesting report, dated 31st March, 1874, by Sir Brooke Robertson, then British Consul at Canton, was included in the "Correspondence respecting the Macao coolie-trade," which was published and presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1875. It shows that in ten years from 1852 to 1861 no less than fourteen mutinies, most of them attended with loss of life, took place on board Chinese emigrant ships bound chiefly for Havana. Then there was a respite for five years : but the trouble broke out again in 1866, when the Italian ship *Napoleon Canevaro* bound with coolies from Macao to Callao was burnt at sea by the Chinese. This spirit of insubordination appears to have infected the emigrants on two of the ships despatched by Mr. Sampson to the British West Indies.

**Case of
the *Pride*
of the
Ganges.**

In the first of these ships, *The Pride of the Ganges*, signs of discontent and mutiny had developed among the emigrants while the ship was lying at Whampoa on the 3rd December, 1865, on account of a difference in the advances paid to some of the men. This matter

was settled by payment of an equally high advance (\$15) to all : and the ship proceeded to sea on the 8th December, without the infliction of any punishment for the mutiny, having on board 240 men, 44 women and 9 children. On the 10th December, after she had been at sea two days, the cooks complained that the rice was bad : but no notice was taken of the complaint, and on the 11th at about 4.30 p.m. the mutiny broke out. The captain, when attempting to come on deck, was knocked down and finally thrown overboard, as was also the purser ; and the mutineers became masters of the ship. They then compelled the first mate to take her to the Island of Hainan,* where six of the ringleaders at once landed ; and subsequently, at another part of the island, the whole of the Chinese left the ship. The mate, then, seeing a number of native boats heavily manned coming off to the ship, slipped his cable and made sail for Hongkong, where he arrived on the 31st December. With the exception of the captain and purser, none of the crew appear to have been injured, nor was anything taken from the ship except provisions and rice. These facts lead to the conclusion that the mutiny was not a preconcerted conspiracy for the purpose of robbing the ship, but was the consequence of a sudden outbreak of rage at what the emigrants considered ill-treatment. A marine court of inquiry, held at Hongkong, reported on the 23rd January, 1866, that the mutiny was due to the want of proper discipline on board the ship, to the inferior quality of rice, and to the omission to punish the previous mutiny while the ship was lying at Whampoa. On the arrival of the vessel, the Hongkong Government had notified the

* 海南 : a large island off the coast of Kuang-tung.

Senior Naval Officer, who, however, had no warship which he could send to Hainan to seek for the mutineers. The Chinese Authorities, at the request of the British Consul at Canton, despatched a customs' steamer for that purpose; but she broke down and was obliged to return to Canton. In point of fact, therefore, no steps were taken to bring the mutineers to justice.

Case of the Jeddo. The second disaster was the loss by fire of the ship *Jeddo*, which left Amoy for Demerara on the 18th March, 1866, with 480 Chinese emigrants, of whom only three were women. All went well until the 27th March, when a well organized conspiracy was discovered among the coolies to murder all the Europeans on board and take the ship. The plan was carefully laid, the leaders having the names of the conspirators to the number of about sixty in a book. It was as follows. When the ship's officers went to breakfast that morning, a portion of the conspirators were to create a disturbance down below forward; the officers on going below were to be seized, and a party was to rush on to the poop and get possession of the arms. All this was disclosed by five emigrants, who had been invited to join the conspirators. On their evidence, which left no doubt that the plot had been laid in Amoy before the ship set sail, the captain took the ringleaders, flogged them, put them in iron and kept them on the poop. Nothing of consequence then occurred until 7.30 p.m. on the 16th April, when the ship was reported to be on fire in the forehold. At that time she was nine or ten miles from land, standing out of the Straits of Sunda. The moment the fire was discovered, about thirty Chinese rushed up and took possession of the

starboard life-boat. The mate and some of the crew jumped into the boat to prevent the emigrants from taking her away: but one of the hooks of the blocks gave way and the boat was thus hung vertically by one end. By this accident the mate, two of the crew and nearly all the Chinese in the boat were killed. Meanwhile the captain tried every means of subduing the fire; but, finding that it was gaining so fast that there was no chance of saving the ship, he resolved to run her ashore, in order to save as many lives as possible. The vessel grounded at about 9.30 p.m., and an attempt was then made with three boats to land the emigrants. The surf, however, was so heavy that two of the boats were swamped in the first trip. Then a line was got ashore and a great number of the Chinese were safely landed, the ship burning to the water's edge. On mustering the rescued emigrants, the captain found them to be 318 in number, and one was picked up by a ship and landed at Batavia. Thus the ship's mate, two of the crew, and no less than 161 Chinese lost their lives in this disaster.

Operations of
the season
1865-6.

It is a proof of the efficiency of Mr. Sampson's organization that, in spite of these misfortunes, he succeeded in more than filling the indent of British Guiana for 625 male emigrants, exclusive of women and children, by despatching the *Light Brigade* from Amoy on the 18th January, 1866, and by refilling and despatching the *Pride of the Ganges* from Whampoa—this time without misadventure—on the 31st March, 1866. The total number of emigrants embarked in these two ships was 798 souls of whom 747 were men, 33 women, 16 boys and 2 girls: while

the total number landed at Georgetown was 798 souls, of whom 738 were men, 33 women, 16 boys and 2 girls. Six deaths (all men) occurred during the voyage, a mortality of 1.12% ; but the percentage of females disembarked was only 4.43%, much lower than in previous seasons.

Difficulty of obtaining female emigrants. Mr. Sampson explained, in a letter dated the 29th October, 1866, that, as regards Canton, female emigrants had for the most part been obtained by "the adoption of the "Chinese usage of purchase:" that Chinese women in destitute condition were brought from the disturbed rural districts to the larger cities and sold to the Chinese as concubines, household servants, labourers, etc., always, of course, with the women's consent: and that male emigrants for the British West Indies availed of this usage, and employed the \$20 gratuity to procure for themselves wives from among these women. The women thus engaged were mostly the widows of men who had disappeared in the long protracted clan-fights in the interior. "This is the basis," wrote Mr. Sampson, "with some marked exceptions of all female emigration from China to the "British West Indies, Surinam, and the Sandwich "Islands. . . . Whether the usage above "described had been abused by the Chinese or "not, I do not know; but during last season the "Chinese authorities put a stop, not only to the "fractional part connected with emigration, but to "the entire proceeding as concerned also Chinese "solely; and, of course, as their countenance to "it, as a usage accordant with Chinese custom, "was the only ground on which I could sanction "it, there was no other course open to me but to "submit; and thus it was that not one woman,

“ despatched by me in the *Pride of the Ganges* on
 “ her last voyage, was other than the *bona fide* wife
 “ or mother she purported to be, and the 29
 “ women who sailed in that ship formed one of
 “ those marked exceptions to which I have refer-
 “ ed. I have, of course, always been alive to
 “ the fact that the persons who brought the former
 “ class of women did so for pecuniary gain, and
 “ that I was thus permitting an influence to enter
 “ female emigration which I deprecated when
 “ applied to males. I have always been alive to
 “ this ; and, knowing the utter insufficiency of the
 “ best official surveillance, I have watched the
 “ operations with a caution amounting to dread,
 “ and taken every pains to ensure that the women
 “ knew and approved of the step they were
 “ about to take.”

Agency
 at Amoy
 closed.

The number of female emigrants from Amoy had always been small. Thus in 1862, the *Lady Elma Bruce* had only 33 women to 349 men : three ships sent to Trinidad from Amoy in 1865, the *Light of the Age*, *Dudbrook* and *Red Riding Hood*, carried in all 1,046 men and only 20 women : the ill-fated ship *Jeddo* had only 3 women and 477 men, while the *Light Brigade* which successfully reached Georgetown had embarked at Amoy 488 men and only 4 women. A summary of the Emigration from Amoy in these six ships gives a total of 2,397 men, 67 women and 27 children embarked, or neglecting the children (whose sex is not specially given) a percentage of 271 women only. “ I see no special reason,” wrote Mr. Sampson in the letter above mentioned, “ to despair of engaging in future a proper quota of females in Canton : but in Amoy I gather no hopes of amendment ; and in

"accordance, therefore, with your instruction to discontinue emigration, if I cannot get a fair proportion of females, I am directing that the agency at that port be closed forthwith." Commenting on this letter, the Emigration Commissioners on the 20th December, 1866, expressed the view that emigration from Amoy must clearly be given up; and they proposed to instruct Mr. Sampson "that the proportion of women to be included in the emigration should not be less than 33 women for every 100 men; and that, unless that proportion could be obtained, the number of men must be reduced." The Earl of Carnarvon, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, concurred, and instructions were issued accordingly.

Expenditure during season 1865-6.

In order to obtain a fair statement of the expenditure incurred during the season of 1865-6, it is necessary to include the operations connected with the emigration to Trinidad.

When this is done, it appears that during the season 2,169½ statute adults were embarked for the West Indies, though of these 776½ statute adults (the combined complement of the *Pride of the Ganges*, when first despatched, and of the *Jeddo*) never reached their destination: and that the expenditure *per caput* was as follows:—

		£	s.	d.
Cost in China (\$45.14 at 4s. 6d.)	...	10	3	0
Average freight	...	13	18	4
Doctors, interpreters, cooks, etc., say	...	1	0	0
Total	...	£ 25	1	4

Thus, in spite of the Franco-Cuban competition, necessitating both a maximum advance of \$20 a head and the working of a branch at

Amoy, the cost *per caput* only exceeded by 1s. 4d. the limit laid down by the Government of British Guiana, a result which so far satisfied the planters of Demerara that they were content to maintain the Canton Agency for seven seasons, from 1866-7 to 1872-3 inclusive, during which not a single Chinese emigrant was shipped to the British West Indies. The reasons, which caused the operations of the British Emigration Agency in China to be suspended, must now be carefully considered.



CHAPTER IX.

INTERVENTION OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT (1865-1873.)

**Non-
return of
Chinese
emigrants
to China.**

In a letter written from Hongkong on the 10th December, 1853, the year in which the first Chinese emigrants landed in British Guiana, Mr. J. T. White observed: "No emigration from China will be safe or satisfactory until some of those who have left return with favourable accounts of the West Indies, and till this takes place the respectable Chinese will continue to regard this emigration with suspicion and distrust. If the accounts be favourable, the emigration may become to a great extent self-supporting, for thousands will be eager to emigrate, and will gladly undertake to pay at least a portion of the passage money, as soon as their confidence has been secured." Years had been allowed to pass since these words were written, but not a single Chinese emigrant to British Guiana had ever returned home to tell the story of his success or failure. In season and out of season, Mr. Lobscheid, Mr. J. G. Austin and Mr. Sampson had emphasized the truth of Mr. White's remark: but their recommendations had fallen on deaf ears, and in 1864 even the allotment system, which until then had formed a bond of connexion between the Chinese emigrant and his home, was abandoned by the planters from motives of misguided economy. But in 1865 this matter was becoming more important than ever. "The time is now at

"hand," wrote Mr. Sampson, from Canton on the 13th March, 1865, "when the Chinese here will with reason look for some proof in the return of some that were despatched hence in 1859-60 that a return is possible. Without such proof it remains to be seen how far public confidence will be impaired or maintained." Mr. Sampson added :—" Although I have seen men, very few, however, who have returned from Cuba, Peru, and indeed almost every other country to which Chinese emigrate, it has never yet been my fortune to see one such from the British West Indies"; and he expressed the earnest hope that it would not be long before he could point to emigrants returned, in prosperity from British Guiana, as a means of stimulating emigration to that Colony by affording ocular evidence of the advantages to be gained thereby.

**Governor-General
at Canton
makes
representations to
British
Consul.**

No attention was paid to these representations in Demerara: but the Chinese authorities now intervened. In a conversation which passed between the Governor-General of the Liang Kuang provinces and the British Consul at Canton in December, 1865, the former remarked that no Chinese labourer, who had emigrated to the British West Indies, had been seen to return in person to China: and in a note dated the 25th December, 1865, confirming this conversation, the Governor-General requested the British Consul "to communicate the expression of his anxious solicitude to the authorities who direct abroad the engagement of labourers, urging them to inform the Chinese emigrants that, if they are happy and prosperous abroad and are enabled to gain a living by their labour, they

“ should despatch a few intelligent individuals of
 “ their number to return in person to China, in
 “ order that they may be examined and give evi-
 “ dence, or in the first place to write for themselves
 “ a minute account of their circumstances to their
 “ relatives, to the end that the multitudes of China
 “ may all become aware that, by emigrating in
 “ pursuit of labour, advantage and profit can be
 “ obtained by all, without injury or detriment.”

**Revival of
emigration
to Cuba.** It is very likely that the Governor-
 General would have been less concerned over this matter but for the
 fact, to which allusion has already
 been made, of the revival in 1865 of the Chinese
 emigration to Cuba. This emigration, which,
 prior to the occupation of Canton by the Allied
 Commanders, had been conducted chiefly from
 Macao, was notorious for every kind of abomina-
 tion. According to a return, dated the 1st
 December, 1865, compiled by Mr. R. Bunch,
 British Consul-General at Havana, there had
 been conveyed to the Island of Cuba in 1861 and
 the preceding years 66,274 Chinese emigrants, of
 whom 56,823 had been landed alive while 9,451
 had died at sea, a mortality of 14%. During the
 allied occupation of Canton and for a few years
 afterwards, this traffic in Chinese labour for Cuba
 had been much less flourishing: but in 1865,
 between February and November, 6,490 labour-
 ers were shipped from the Kuang-tung province
 to Havana, making a total up to that date of 76,829
 Chinese emigrants of whom 66,447 were landed
 alive, while 10,382 died at sea, a mortality of 13%.
 Nor was this large mortality the worst feature of
 this emigration. It is a startling fact that of 66,447
 Chinese emigrants landed in Havana only 52 were
 females, or one woman to every 1,277 men !

Frequent mutinies in emigrant ships. But it was not statistics such as these which were the principal cause of the alarm of the Chinese authorities. Their anxiety was chiefly occasioned by the frequent and violent mutinies in the emigrant-vessels. Thus during the season 1865-6, apart from the cases of the *Pride of the Ganges* and the *Jeddo* already narrated, there were the following instances of mutiny :—

- (1) *Louis*, a French ship : put back in consequence of disturbance.
- (2) *Hongkong*, a French ship : captain dangerously wounded, doctor died, many emigrants killed, remainder landed on the coast of China.
- (3) *Caroline*, a French ship : mutiny subdued by shooting 4 Chinese.
- (4) *Ville de St. Lo*, a French ship : mutiny subdued by shooting 12 Chinese : ship put into Saigon.
- (5) *Napoleon Canevaro*, an Italian ship : burnt at sea by the Chinese.
- (6) *Eugène Adèle*, a French ship : the coolies broke out into revolt, killed the captain and severely wounded the officers and crew ; 5 Chinese were killed in the fight and 30 jumped overboard.
- (7) *Thérèse*, an Italian ship : 62 days after departure, while in sight of land (supposed to be New Zealand), the coolies revolted and killed the officers and 12 of the crew : the vessel was taken back to Macao.
- (8) *Providenza*, an Italian ship : found off Hakodate with only 42 Chinese out of 380 embarked, and no Europeans.

**Methods
of Crimps.**

Such a record as this during two consecutive years might well alarm the Chinese Government : while among minor indications of the goal to which emigration was tending Mr. Sampson noted, in a letter from Canton dated 13th March, 1866, armed attacks on individuals in the streets and "the employment of "war-equipped boats for the collection of emigrants in the interior." The fact is that the abominations of the so-called "traffic in little pigs" were being revived by the employment in the Franco-Cuban emigration of Chinese touts paid by a capitation fee : and it is, therefore, desirable to explain what a capitation fee, or head money, involved.

**Head-
Money.**

There was a regulation in force at Canton to the effect that no money in any shape should be paid to Chinese for bringing emigrants to the depôts, unless such Chinese were specially licensed by the Governor General of the Liang Kuang provinces. But it is easy to see that, unless the person conducting the emigration conscientiously adhered to this otherwise excellent regulation, its evasion was extremely easy. Suppose, for example, that an agent employs a Chinese to collect emigrants for a remuneration of, say, \$10 a head : such Chinese is then the only man licensed and the only man to whom the agent pays any money for bringing emigrants. But this Chinese employs, say, ten subordinates, to whom he pays \$5 a head ; each of them again employs ten subordinates at \$2.50 a head ; these employ yet others at lower rates, until the lowest grades receive, it may be, only a few cents a head. Among the lower grades no regular employment is necessary, for it soon becomes public-ly known that any person who takes an emigrant

to a certain place receives a fee. Thus street-idler A sees a raw countryman and, guessing that he wishes to emigrate, gets him into conversation and persuades him to go to broker B's house. For this A receives a fee from B, who treats the country cousin kindly, perhaps sumptuously, and hands him over to a superior broker, until the would-be emigrant gets into the hands of the licensed broker who pays \$5 and receives from the agent \$10. So by the employment of one licensed broker a whole population of idlers and vagabonds is put into motion to act as crimps. Difficulty of detection gives rise to a general immunity from punishment: while a greed for gain induces an excitement enhanced by a knowledge of the penalties, to which detection would lead. All this is involved in the employment of one licensed Chinese broker paid by a capitation fee. In the Chinese character extraordinary cunning and extraordinary gullibility meet; and the thousand and one resources of crimps to secure the head money for a "piglet" may be better imagined than described, although neither imagination nor description can give to a person inexperienced in Chinese matters a full conception of the endless ramifications of intrigues and crimes to which these influences give rise.

Competition of rival emigration agencies.

It is not difficult to look a little further and gain some small conception of the result of such a system, when aggravated by competition and rivalry. The first result is, of course, an increase in the amount of the fee, and this is said to have reached \$95 at Macao in 1860. In the eyes of a Chinese coolie the most important feature in an emigration contract was the advance and the next most striking feature was

the number of years of indenture. Now the advance offered by the Franco-Cuban house at Canton in March, 1865, when its operations commenced, was \$15; but on the other hand eight years service and daily work of twelve hours were required. In the latter respect, therefore, the contracts for emigration to British Guiana and Trinidad were more advantageous than the Cuban contracts. But even this point was turned against Mr. Sampson, for his opponents were able to demonstrate the futility of anticipating a return to China from British Colonies at the end of five years by pointing to the ships which sailed from China in 1859-60 and asking: Where are the emigrants after a lapse of six years?

Contrast in cost of Chinese emigration to Cuba and to British Guiana. Now, according to a return prepared by Mr. D. B. Robertson, the British Consul at Canton, and dated the 9th June, 1866, the cost of each Chinese emigrant landed at Havana was £43, made up as follows:—

Expenses to date of shipment	...\$ 70
Passage money	... 60
Insurance, commission, etc.	... 49
Interest at 6% for 6 months and average loss by death 3%	... 11

Total cost of emigrant landed at
Havana \$ 190 at 4s. 6d. = £43

And, according to a report by Mr. Bunch, the British Consul-General at Havana, dated the 2nd December, 1865, the Chinese emigrants on arrival in Cuba were taken up by the planters at £93 a head, showing a profit to the importers of £50 on each emigrant. So large a return offered, of course, a strong inducement to unscrupulous persons to engage in the Cuban emigration without much

regard for the means or the end. It is also easy, in view of these figures, to understand the difficulty, which Mr. Sampson experienced, in competing with the agents employed in the Cuban emigration.

But the contrast between the cost of the immigrant to the employer is still more striking. In the British West Indies the employer paid two-thirds of the cost of importation (which, including expenses in China, was limited to £25) say £16 13s. 4d. for a service of five years, or at the rate of £3. 6s. 8d. a year. In Cuba the employer paid £93 for a service of eight years, or at the rate of £11. 12s. 6d. a year. Even if it be assumed that the rate of wages in Cuba was merely nominal, while in the British Colonies it was not less than \$4 a month, yet, as in Cuba the immigrant, if not paid, has still to be fed, and as his food could scarcely be put at less than \$2 a month, the difference remained very large. The statement would apparently be as follows :—

A.—In the British West Indies

	£	s.	d.	
Cost of importation to employer	16	13	4	
Wages \$4 a month for 5 years	50	0	0	
	<hr/>			
	£ 66	13	4	
Equivalent to	... £ 13	6	8	<i>per annum</i>
	<hr/>			

B.—In Cuba

	£	s.	d.	
Price paid by employer	93	0	0	
Cost of food \$2 a month for eight years	40	0	0	
	<hr/>			
	£ 133	0	0	
Equivalent to	... £ 16	12	6	<i>per annum</i>

Governor Hincks explained the ability of the Cuban planter to bear the heavier expense by the greater amount of work he was able to get out of the immigrant. A crop of sugar, which in British Guiana would require 500 labourers, could, he said, be produced in Cuba with 190. But, however that may be, the fact remains that at this time Mr. Sampson had to contend, not only against the unscrupulous methods employed in the Franco-Cuban emigration, but also against the ability of the Cuban planter to pay £93 a head for Chinese emigrants, whereas the planter in British Guiana grumbled at paying even as much as £25 a head. Moreover, in a letter dated May, 1865, Mr. Sampson, when describing the difficulty he had in competing with the Cuban agency, wrote that he had overheard Chinese discussing the respective merits of the Cuban and the British offers, and that the conclusion had almost invariably been :—" the English terms are the best : " but Cuba gives \$5 more : we will go to Cuba." This increase in the stake naturally encouraged crimps to take greater risks, and set in motion a huge machinery for kidnapping, to which the supineness of the Mandarins, the difficulty of proof and the reticence of the emigrants themselves allowed free play, until at last even Chinese officialdom could no longer connive at the resulting enormities.

**Tsung-li
Yamén pre-
sents draft
emigration
regulations
to British
and French
Ministers
at Peking.**

It will be remembered that Mr. J. G. Austin had spent the summer of 1861 at Peking in an abortive attempt to get regulations framed under the 5th article of the Convention of Peking validating the regulations for labour-emigration made by the British and French authorities on the 1st March, 1861, while Canton was still in the occupation of the Allies : and

that, after the Allies withdrew from Canton, the Governor-General of the Liang Kuang provinces issued a proclamation, dated the 4th November, 1861, confirming those regulations with certain amendments.* It was under these amended regulations* that Chinese emigration had since then been conducted. But, in 1865, the Tsung-li Yamèn† instructed the Governor-General of the Liang Kuang provinces, as being on the spot from which emigration was carried on, to draw up a set of rules governing the emigration of Chinese labourers with a view to the adoption of a uniform system at all the ports of China. The Governor-General submitted a draft of his proposals, making but few alterations and additions in the regulations of 1861, and this draft the Prince of Kung communicated to the British and French Ministers at Peking on the 7th September, 1865. In doing so the Prince drew special attention to the following points :—

**Points
empha-
sized by
the Yamen.**

(a) The Yamèn proposed that every vessel clearing from any port in China with Chinese coolie-emigrants on board, should, before departure, state her port of destination, and that on arrival, the authorities at her port of destination, should write to the Consul at her port of departure, informing him of the date of her arrival and the number of coolies on board : that the Consul should then notify the Chinese authorities concerned : that the authorities of the port of destination should keep a constant and minute record of the places to which the coolies were sent, the occupations in which they were engaged, and the deaths (if any) which occurred : that, on the expiry of the

* *Vide* Appendix C.

† 總理衙門, *i.e.*, the Chinese Foreign Office.

period of indenture, this record should be sent in its entirety to the Consul at the port from which the coolies emigrated, to be by him transmitted to the Chinese local authorities ; and that the papers should state the exact number of coolies who desired to remain in the land, to which they had emigrated, and the number who wished to return to China.

(b) In the next place the Yamèn proposed that, in any case in which an employer had advanced money or goods to a Chinese emigrant, the employer might on the expiry of the emigrant's period of indenture stop a sum not exceeding three months' wages out of the emigrant's pay, or require from the emigrant labour for an additional period not exceeding three months : but that, no matter how great the amount of the debt due, this should be regarded as a quittance in full.

(c) The Yamèn further proposed to send occasionally to every country employing Chinese labourers an officer to inquire into the condition of the emigrants, this officer to be treated with proper respect by the country to which he was sent, and no obstacles to be thrown in his way.

(d) Lastly, in order to prevent criminals from escaping as emigrants, the Yamèn proposed that, as soon as it was discovered that a Chinese criminal had got himself engaged as an emigrant to a foreign country, the local magistrate nearest the port where such criminal had been engaged, should communicate the fact to the Consul, who would fix a certain time within which the emigration agent must give up the criminal : and that, if the criminal was not given up before the expiration of the time fixed, the emigration agency concerned, should then and there be closed, and the

agent never again be permitted to hire emigrants in China.

**Emigra-
tion Con-
vention of
1866
signed at
Peking.**

The draft prepared by the Tsung-li Yamén was discussed article by article by M. Henri de Bellonet, the French Chargé d'Affaires, with Mr. Thomas Wade of the British Legation and Mr. Robert Hart. It appeared to Sir Rutherford Alcock, the British Minister at Peking, to be well-adapted to correct abuses at the treaty-ports ; and, after some modifications suggested by his former experience of the system at Canton, which M. de Bellonet readily adopted, the draft regulations were embodied in the 22 articles of a "Convention to regulate the engagement of Chinese emigrants by British and French Subjects," which was signed by the Prince of Kung, Sir R. Alcock and M. de Bellonet at Peking, on the 5th March, 1866.* Copies of the Convention were sent by Sir R. Alcock to each British Consul in China with instructions "to prohibit all shipment of coolies under other conditions than those specified in the regulations : " and it was published by the British Consul at Shanghai on the 22nd March, 1866.

**Cessation
of Chinese
Emigra-
tion.**

It is astonishing to find that the British and French Ministers at Peking should have signed a document of this importance, not only without referring the draft to those primarily concerned, namely, the importers of Chinese labour, but without even submitting it for the consideration of their respective Governments. To this

* This convention will be found in Volume I., pp. 55-61 of Hertslet's *China Treaties*, and is printed for convenience of reference in Appendix D.

blunder was directly due, the complete cessation of Chinese emigration to the British West Indies and the consequent heavy loss to the planters of British Guiana and Trinidad, who were, nevertheless, persuaded to maintain the Emigration Agency in Canton at an annual cost of some £1,600 for another seven years, during which not a single Chinese emigrant was shipped to those Colonies, in the ever-renewed and ever-disappointed hope that the prolonged diplomatic negotiations, which took place in London, Paris and Peking with a view to correcting the diplomatic *bévue* of 1866, might reach a successful issue.

Convention criticised by Emigration Commissioners.

Mr. Sampson at once forwarded a copy of the Convention to the Emigration Commissioners with a request for guidance in respect to some of its provisions : and, on behalf of the Commissioners, Mr. Murdoch laid the matter before the Secretary of State for the Colonies in a letter, dated the 29th May, 1866, in which he wrote :—"The general tendency of the Convention is calculated to put the emigration on a sounder and more satisfactory footing than heretofore. But there are some provisions which will much increase its expense, and may even render it too costly to be continued to British Colonies. Thus the 8th Article requires that the contract to be entered into with the emigrant should specify, among other things, the right of the emigrant to be conveyed back to his own country, and the sum which shall be paid at the expiration of his contract to cover the expenses of his voyage home, and that of his family should they accompany him." The 9th Article provides that, in the event of the emigrant remaining without an engagement in

" the Colony, the sum which would otherwise have
 " been paid for his return passage should be paid
 " to him : that, if he should enter into a second
 " engagement for five years, he should receive a
 " gratuity equal to half the cost of his return pas-
 " sage, the return passage being still claimable at
 " the expiration of this second term ; while, if
 " invalided and incapable of work, he may at any
 " time claim payment of the sum destined to cover
 " the expense of his return to China. By the *14th*
 " *Article* the premium to the emigrant is required
 " to be a grant, not a repayable advance, the only
 " advances allowed being those appropriated to
 " the emigrant's family : and the making advances
 " during the emigrant's stay in the Colony, to be
 " repaid after the termination of his engagement,
 " is also forbidden. These new conditions will
 " very largely increase the expense of the emigra-
 " tion and make it dearer than the emigration of
 " Indian coolies. It becomes, therefore, a ques-
 " tion whether the colonies of British Guiana and
 " Trinidad would think it worth while to continue
 " the emigration under such circumstances."

**Decision
of Court
of Policy.** This letter was forwarded by the
 Colonial Office to British Guiana,
 where in the meantime on the 14th
 April, 1866, the Combined Court had
 resolved to order 2,500 Chinese for the season
 1866-7. The matter was considered by the Court
 of Policy, who were of opinion that British Guiana
 and Trinidad, "having a common interest in the
 " continuation of Chinese immigration, should act
 " in concert both in their representations to Her
 " Majesty's Government for the amendment of the
 " Convention, and in providing such return pas-
 " sages to China as lay within their means." The
 Court of Policy further resolved on the 1st August,

1866, that 2,000 additional immigrants should be procured from India in the event of those already ordered from China not being obtainable under the new Convention on the same terms as hitherto.

**French
and British
Govern-
ments
decide not
to ratify
the Con-
vention.**

Meanwhile on the 30th June, 1866, the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, French Ambassador in London, wrote to the Earl of Clarendon that some stipulations in the Convention appeared to be "de nature à détourner nos colonies de recruter des travailleurs en Chine." He referred especially to the articles which limited periods of indenture to five years, and which provided that the emigrant should not work more than 9½ hours in the day. He also pointed out that the regulations, while imposing numerous obligations on emigration agencies, established at Chinese treaty-ports, contained no provisions relative to the policing of emigrant-ships and to the sanitary requirements which ought to be imposed on such ships. For these reasons the French Government had decided not to ratify the Convention until the question had been maturely examined; and the French Ambassador was instructed to suggest that the British and French Governments should agree upon an identical redraft of the Convention and simultaneously press the Chinese Government to accept the redraft. The Foreign Office referred these proposals to the Colonial Office: and on the 25th July, 1866, the Earl of Carnarvon replied to the Earl of Clarendon concurring in the suggestion that the British and French Governments should consider the regulations in concert with a view to modifications and additions, and expressing strongly the opinion that the Convention required

careful reconsideration, as some of its stipulations would prove injurious to the British West Indies. Accordingly Her Majesty's Government decided not to ratify the Convention ; and on the 26th July, 1866, Sir R. Alcock was instructed to make a communication in this sense to the Chinese Government.

**Redraft
of Convention
agreed
upon by
British,
French and
Spanish
Ministers.**

Now ensued prolonged negotiations between London and Paris as to the form which the redraft of the Convention should take, and at a later stage the Spanish Government also was associated in these discussions. Finally, on the 1st April, 1868, a redraft* was sent to the Prince of Kung by Sir R. Alcock, M. de Lallemand and Señor de Mas, acting in concert, with a *note identique* from each urging the necessity for its prompt acceptance. There had been many difficulties to overcome before there was a prospect of success in any proposition for modifying the Convention already made, not the least being the lack of agreement between Great Britain, France and Spain. While there was any divergence in the views or the demands of the three Governments, who alone at that date had the right by treaty to claim any special arrangement for the emigration of coolies, the repugnance of the Prince of Kung and other members of the Tsung-li Yamèn to consent to any modification of the Convention of March, 1866, was insurmountable. So long, however, as the attempt was persisted in to agree upon the terms of the contracts to be offered to the emigrants, and to guarantee their execution at the place of destination, no accord was possible. Sir R. Alcock was prohibited from

* *Uide* Appendix E.

consenting to any terms of repatriation, and there was a desire on the part of the British Government to limit the time of service to five years. The Spanish Minister, on the contrary, could not consent to so short a term ; and, in the interest of the Spanish colonies, would have gladly seen a condition of repatriation introduced. But it was not on these cardinal points alone that causes of disaccord existed. In all the details of hours of labour, distribution and appropriation of emigrants after arrival at their place of destination, the rate of wages, and other particulars, there was no common ground that could be taken. What might be fair or expedient in one colony, or set of circumstances, was inadmissible in another. Again, it was quite clear that none of the three Governments had any power to give a real or effective guarantee that the terms of emigration contracts would be carried out in territories not under their rule—in Peru, Chile, and elsewhere. The French had, then, no colonies to which Chinese emigrants were sent. Emigrants sent to British or Spanish possessions in the West Indies formed but a portion of the large number embarked annually at Macao. Even in Cuba and the British colonies, although in both the protection of immigrant labourers was the object of special legislation, the moment it became a question of minute details—such as are involved in all attempts to regulate wages, hours of labour, and the relations of master and servant,—any guarantee was more or less illusory from the absence of the elaborate and costly machinery for the continuous and inquisitorial surveillance that would be required, as well as from the difficulties interposed by the want of any common language or means of communication between the Chinese and those to whom their appeal would lie, and from the

impossibility of so interfering without rendering the position of the coolies themselves uncomfortable, and that of the masters unendurable.

**Position
of the
Ministers
at Peking
summar-
ised.**

The position of the Ministers at Peking may be thus summed up. By the convention of March, 1866,—still upheld by the Chinese Government in spite of repeated declarations from the British and French representatives that, not having been ratified, it was null and void,—all emigration from the Treaty-ports, where official surveillance by Consuls and Chinese officials could be exercised, was stopped. Nevertheless, 20,000 coolies in 1866, and 15,579 in 1867 were despatched from Macao, —a fresh stimulus to emigration from that port, with all its abuses, having been given by the impediments to its continuance from the Treaty-ports, which resulted from the endeavour by dictating the terms of contracts to secure more favourable terms and the greatest security for emigrants. The Ministers were instructed by their respective Governments, if this state of things continued, and if the Chinese Government refused such modifications in the Convention as were deemed necessary, to insist upon reverting to the *status quo ante*, that is to say, to the arrangements first made when the Allied Commissioners were at Canton. These arrangements had for their object simply to secure the coolie from all fraud and violence preliminary to his embarkation, his entire free will and knowledge of the engagements he might enter into with the emigration agents, and his safety and well-being during the voyage. They neither controlled the terms of service offered nor required the emigrant's repatriation. On the terms of service the three Powers

concerned,—England, France and Spain,—could not agree. The Chinese Government would listen to no proposals on the subject which did not come from all united. There only remained, therefore, the alternatives either of falling back upon the original plan, adopted by the Allied Commissioners at Canton, and of seeking to reopen emigration on that basis, against the protest and determined opposition of the Chinese authorities, or of attaining what was essentially the same thing with the consent of the Chinese Government by jointly proposing a set of regulations, in which there should be no attempt to dictate the terms of the contracts of service, and consequently no responsibility of the respective Governments for their execution in foreign countries. On this ground the three Ministers could act in concert, and without divergence,—the first condition of success with the Chinese Government,—on any other, unanimity and action were alike impossible.

**Contents
of the
Redraft.**

This, therefore, is what was done. All the articles referring to the terms of service, repatriation, and other conditions of contract to be offered for the acceptance of the emigrants, were omitted : and a few modifications, chiefly of administrative detail, were added in the interest of order, such as the appointment of a Chinese Superintendent of coolies at each port, to be paid by a fee of \$2 a head, and the establishment of both a preparatory and a final depôt of emigrants for their accommodation before and after signature of contract, suggested by the practical experience of Señor de Mas, who had long been resident at Macao and was intimately acquainted with the wants and exigencies of the service. Finally, two declaratory clauses were appended, the one expressly reserv-

ing the approbation of the respective Governments, the other a right of revision at the end of three years from the date of ratification.

**Redraft
rejected
by Chinese
Govern-
ment.**

Unfortunately, April, 1868, was the period of the great triennial examinations at Peking, and two of the most active Ministers of the Tsung-li Yamèn were actually locked up in the Examination Hall at the time when the *note identique* of the British, French and Spanish Ministers was presented. Under these circumstances the reply of the Yamèn was much delayed: but on the 15th June, 1868, Sir R. Alcock telegraphed that the Chinese Government had refused to annul the Emigration Convention of 1866. In view of this *contretemps*, the Foreign Office consulted the Colonial Office as to the best course of action to follow: and in September, 1868, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos expressed the opinion that the British Minister at Peking should be instructed to represent to the Chinese Government that, as Her Majesty's Government could not assent to the Convention of 1866, and as the Chinese Government had not assented to the modifications of that Convention proposed by the British, French and Spanish Governments, the British Emigration Agent at Canton would, until a new arrangement was agreed upon, proceed to collect and despatch emigrants under the regulations as they stood before 1866, which, in the absence of any new arrangement, were in fact still subsisting. Lord Stanley accepted this view and directed Sir R. Alcock to issue instructions to Mr. Sampson in this sense. Accordingly, on the 11th November, 1868, Sir R. Alcock instructed Mr. B. Robertson, the British Consul at Canton, to inform Mr.

Sampson of this decision of Her Majesty's Government, and to take such measures on the spot in furtherance of these orders from home as might seem to him best adapted to the circumstances.

**Interview
of British
Consul at
Canton
with
Governor-
General.**

These instructions placed Mr. Robertson in a difficult position. Two courses only were open to him. He might either induce the Governor-General at Canton to accept the view that, pending the settlement of new arrangements, the old regulations were still in force; or, failing in that, he might proceed with the engagement and shipping of emigrants without the sanction of the Governor-General. The former course an interview would settle: the latter was likely to jeopardise the amicable relations existing between the Consul and the Governor-General, and would probably end in defeat, as the Chinese authorities would, no doubt, adopt the simple expedient of forbidding their people to enter the emigration depôt. Mr. Robertson, therefore, thought it better to call upon the Governor-General, frankly explain his instructions, and learn how far the Provincial Government was prepared to meet or oppose them. Accordingly he visited the Governor-General and told him that, pending other arrangements, the old regulations were still in force, and that it was the desire of the British Government to act upon them; but that, in view of the friendly relations existing between His Excellency and himself, he would take no steps without first consulting the local authorities and meeting their views so far as the instructions of Her Majesty's Government permitted.

The Governor-General replied that his own instructions were so positive, not to permit emigration except under the Convention of 1866, that he dared not sanction any departure from it. To permit its evasion or suspension would bring upon him the anger of his Government and probably loss of rank and office. That might be a small matter, but disobedience of orders was a fault of which he could not be guilty: and, therefore, he must decidedly refuse to allow emigration under the old regulations. As to the validity or otherwise of the Convention, that was a question neither for him nor for the Consul to decide. All he had to do was to obey orders and see them carried out. He was at a loss, he added, to comprehend the motive of his Government in so strongly opposing any modification of the Convention, and could only attribute it to the depopulated state of the provinces owing to war and famine. His own view was that emigration, being an established fact and fairly understood, had better be left to adjust itself. This, however, was evidently not the opinion of his Government.

Mr. Robertson said that he fully understood the Governor-General's position, and that he did not come to discuss the matter in any but the most friendly spirit and in full confidence that, if His Excellency saw his way to meet the views of the British Government, he would do so: but he hinted finally that the emigration depôt might be opened and the system worked under the old rules without interference either by the local authorities or the Consul. This, the Governor-General impressively stated, he could not allow.

**Views of
Mr. Robert-
son.**

In reporting this interview to Sir R. Alcock on the 28th November, 1868, Mr. Robertson wrote that the determination of the Provincial Government not to allow emigration under the old rules was insuperable, and that any attempt on his part to force their observance would be rendered futile by one word from the authorities. Indeed, the old rules so clearly contemplated joint action being taken by the British and Chinese authorities that refusal on the part of the latter to exercise their functions would render the rules inoperative ; and, if coolies were engaged and shipped by the agent (supposing for the moment that coolies could be obtained in spite of the opposition of the Chinese Government), it would be under no regulations at all—an example which the Spanish and Peruvian barrcoon establishments, already looking for a place to remove to from Macao, would at once avail of, and thus subject the British Government very justly to reproach from the Chinese Government. In these circumstances Mr. Robertson did not communicate to Mr. Sampson the desire of Her Majesty's Government that emigrants should be collected and despatched under the regulations as they stood before 1866.

**Inaction
of Sir R.
Alcock.**

Meanwhile Sir R. Alcock in Peking, acting upon the request of the French Chargé d'Affaires, who had not yet received any instructions from his Government, made no further communication to the Prince of Kung. He had the less hesitation in adopting this course in view of the fact that orders, similar to those issued by the British Government, had several months before been sent by the Government in Paris direct to their Consuls in South China and reiterated by the

French Minister at Peking. "but," wrote Sir Rutherford on the 21st November, 1868, "I have not heard that the result was the despatch of a single coolie from Canton; the truth being, I believe, that no action of the consular authorities at that port can suffice to reopen the emigration houses without the concurrence of the high authorities and other officials of the province. This cannot be obtained contrary to the instructions they receive from the Tsung-li Yamên, unless they can either be bribed or intimidated to disregard their orders and face the consequences."

Attitude of Tsung-li Yamên. The Tsung-li Yamên itself did not dispute the fact that non-ratification annulled the Convention of 1866, so far as the Governments of Great Britain and France were concerned. But the Yamên contended that the Convention was still binding on the Chinese Government, inasmuch as it had received the Emperor's sanction and been promulgated accordingly. Moreover, other Treaty Powers—Belgium, Germany and Russia—had accepted it; and thus the withdrawal of Great Britain and France still left the Yamên in face of a binding obligation towards others. The efforts made by the British and French Ministers at Peking wholly failed to induce the Yamên to accept any modifications in the Convention. All that could be obtained was an expression of willingness to modify the repatriation clause in so far as to allow indenture for five years without that condition.

Emigration from Hong-kong not possible. In these circumstances the British Government determined first of all to inquire into the possibility of procuring in Hongkong from 2,000 to 3,000 eligible emigrants annually, without employing native agents to

entice them from the mainland of China. This question was referred to Sir Richard G. Macdonnell, Governor of Hongkong, by the Earl of Granville in a despatch dated the 19th February, 1869. Sir Richard consulted Mr. Sampson as well as Mr. J. G. Austin, who was Colonial Secretary of Hongkong between the years 1868 and 1879, and replied on the 16th April, 1869, that they were all three agreed that no sufficient number of emigrants could be procured in Hongkong without the employment of native agents on the mainland; and Mr. Sampson was of opinion that no vigilance, which it might be possible to exercise over such agents, would prevent abuses on their part.

Mr.
Murdoch's
sug-
ges-
tions.

Meanwhile the Emigration Commissioners drew attention to the remark in Sir R. Alcock's despatch of the 21st November, 1868, that all that had been obtained from the Tsung-li Yamèn was "the expression of a willingness to modify the repatriation clause, in so far as to allow a shorter term of service of five years without that condition:" and Mr. Murdoch pointed out on the 15th February, 1869, that, if this could actually be effected, all difficulty, so far as the British Colonies were concerned, would be at an end. The contract of service in those colonies had never been for more than five years: and the abandonment of the repatriation clause after a five years' engagement was all for which the British Government had contended, although willing, in default of obtaining it, to agree to the compromise suggested by the French Government namely, that, if the Chinese Government continued to insist on repatriation, emigrants should be required to serve seven or eight years under con-

tract, instead of five, and should submit to a deduction from their wages sufficient to pay the expense of their back-passage. Mr. Murdoch feared, however, that there must be some misapprehension, as otherwise Sir R. Alcock would have laid greater stress on a concession which in fact involved the whole question at issue : and he suggested that perhaps, if the back-passage stipulation could not be eliminated, and if the Chinese Government were not prepared to allow indenture for five years without repatriation, the Tsung-li Yamên might agree to place Chinese emigrants, on the same footing as Indian emigrants, namely, that they should be bound to remain in the colonies ten years, though bound to serve under contract only five, and that, at the end of the ten years, a back-passage should be provided for all who demanded it. This, Mr. Murdoch explained, would reduce the expense of repatriation, not only by those who might die during the ten years' period, but also by those who elected at the expiration of ten years to remain in the Colony. Of the Indian emigrants it was found that the number claiming back-passages at the end of ten years did not on an average exceed 15% of the number who arrived in the British West Indies. But, under the Convention of 1866, all Chinese emigrants, who survived at the end of five years, would be entitled either to a back-passage or to the price of it. The account, therefore, for 100 East Indians and 100 Chinese would, Mr. Murdoch calculated in a memorandum dated the 24th June, 1869, stand somewhat in this fashion :—

Landed cost of 100 East Indian emigrants in				
Demerara, at £16	...	...	...	£ 1,600
Return passages of 15%, at £15	...	...	...	195
				<hr/>
				£ 1,795

Landed cost of 100 Chinese emigrants in Demerara, at £25					
...	...	...	...	...	£ 2,500
Return passages of (say) 80%, at £15					
...	...	...	...	...	1,200
					•
					£ 3,700

That is to say, the Chinese would be more than twice as expensive as the Indians. Unless, therefore, the stipulations as to repatriation of Chinese emigrants could be assimilated to those already in force as regards Indian emigrants, it would be necessary to close the Agency for the British West Indies at Canton.

Negotiations in Peking delayed. In view of Mr. Murdoch's report, the Earl of Clarendon wrote to Sir R. Alcock on the 11th March, 1869, asking him to explain the precise modification to which the Chinese

Government was disposed to agree, and instructing him to endeavour to procure from that Government a draft of the article which they would be willing to insert in the Convention instead of the ninth article as originally worded. The Earl of Clarendon in a further despatch dated the 16th July, 1869, also instructed Sir R. Alcock to ascertain whether the Chinese Government would consent to Mr. Murdoch's proposal that return passages should only be claimable by emigrants after ten years' residence in the Colony to which they emigrated, and that no payment should be due to those who decided to remain in the Colony after the expiration of ten years. Nothing came of these inquiries; for the Chinese Government, when approached on the subject, expressed a wish to postpone its consideration until the return of Mr. T. Wade, who had represented both Sir R. Alcock and M. de Bellonet in the discussions that took place in 1866. At the time Mr. Wade's re-

turn was daily expected : but it was not until the spring of 1870 that he arrived in Peking as Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires. He then consulted his French colleague, M. de Rochechouart, and also spoke to those Ministers of the Tsung-li Yamên who had been principally concerned in the discussion of 1866. But the anti-foreign riots at Tientsin in June, 1870, in which the French Consul was set upon by a Chinese mob and beaten to death, while some 20 foreigners were killed, again brought negotiations to a standstill : and the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, news of which reached Peking in July, postponed for a year the resumption of diplomatic discussions to which the French were parties, although in reality French interests in this matter were of the slightest, no Chinese emigrants having been shipped to any French Colony, and the only concern of the French Government being the fact that French ships had been engaged in the conveyance of Chinese to Cuba and other places.

**Mr.
Wade's
proposal.**

However, on the 28th September, 1870, Mr. Wade wrote to Earl Granville that the Chinese Government was loath to see the Emigration Convention quashed, not from any special interest in the welfare of the emigrants—its traditional belief being that "those who quit their country must be bold, bad men, who deserve all the misfortunes they may encounter,"—but because the Convention had been formally approved by Decree from the Dragon Throne, and could not, therefore, as a matter of dignity, be lightly set aside. To meet this difficulty, one of the Ministers of the Tsung-li Yamên suggested that additional articles should be framed, embodying what the British and French Governments really want-

ed. Accordingly, Mr. Wade requested that there should be sent him a form of contract prepared by competent authority, which would adequately satisfy the requirements of the British colonies. This he would endeavour to have embodied in an article, or a set of articles, which would in effect revoke any obnoxious provisions of the rejected Convention. Mr. Wade added a hope that a special clause might be inserted authorizing the Chinese Government to station agents in the colonies to which emigrants were carried, or to send agents from time to time to report upon the condition of the emigrants.

**Trinidad
gives up
Chinese
emigration**

On the 4th January, 1871, the Earl of Kimberley requested the Governors of British Guiana and Trinidad to furnish him with an early and definite statement of the views entertained in those Colonies as to the suggested modifications of the Convention, adding that he thought it would do good, if the Chinese Government were to send agents from time to time to report on the condition of the emigrants. In reply to this despatch the Government of Trinidad announced that, even if the objections to the Convention of 1866 were removed, the planters in that island would not wish to recur to Chinese immigration. Accordingly the Earl of Kimberley decided that the expenses of the Emigration Agency in China, amounting to some £1,600 a year, which had theretofore been paid by the two colonies, should, as from the 1st April, 1871, be charged against British Guiana alone.

**Views held
in British
Guiana.**

In Demerara a meeting of planters was held to consider the Secretary of State's despatch, and the subject was brought under the consideration of the Court of Policy at its sessions

on the 10th and 13th February, 1871, with the result that Governor J. Scott wrote to the Earl of Kimberley on the 22nd February, 1871 :—"The Chinese coolie is much preferred to the Indian coolie, and a re-opening of such a source of valuable labour will be a benefit conferred upon the colony." He added that, if an extension of the term of service to ten or twelve years could be procured, there would no longer be any objection to providing Chinese immigrants with a back-passage to China at the end of that period : and he forwarded a draft contract of service which had been drawn up by the planters.

The British Foreign Office, however, considered it indispensable to obtain the concurrence of the French Government before instructing Her Majesty's Minister at Peking to enter upon negotiations with the Chinese Government for the resumption of emigration from China to the West Indies : and the assent of the French Government was not received until late in October, 1871.

Mr.
Wade's
discus-
sions with
Tsung-li
Yamèn.

Instructions, therefore, were not sent to Mr. Wade until the 3rd November, 1871, and he found no opportunity of acting upon them until May, 1872, when he had a special conference on the subject with one of the Ministers of the Tsung-li Yamèn, who, after very little fencing, produced the translation of a notice extracted from the Chinese newspaper published in Shanghai, describing the atrocious treatment of Chinese immigrants in Cuba, and said that, when the matter was under discussion in September, 1870, the Yamèn had not possessed any information of this kind. The Yamèn, he added, felt bound—until the emigrant could be secured against such injury as was there detailed

—to diminish rather than prolong the term of his absence ; and, until some guarantee could be suggested, the Chinese Government really could not entertain any proposal to retouch the unratified Convention.

Two days later Mr. Wade again saw the same Minister and the Grand Secretary. Neither of them spoke with any show of irritation or defiance, but they appealed simply and directly to British feelings of humanity. The Grand Secretary urged that whatever the Chinese Government conceded to the British or to the French, who were associated in this Convention, must also be conceded to every other Power. The Spaniards were at the time engaging emigrants for five years ; but what guarantee was there that at the end of five years these emigrants would be repatriated ? Mr. Wade asked him to name some guarantee of the kind he would deem sufficient, as it might be possible for the British Government to induce other Powers interested in emigration to promise the same. The Grand Secretary replied that Mr. Wade would not think him serious, if he named the only guarantee that occurred to him, namely, the immediate repatriation of the Chinese, said to number 35,000, then labouring in Peru.

Mr.
Wade's
report.

In reporting this interview Mr. Wade wrote on the 1st June, 1872, that, by the light of its traditions the Chinese Government was unfavourably disposed towards emigration, and that consequently the Tsung-li Yamén would never regret the discovery of additional arguments against encouraging it. But he believed in this case that it was really the news from Cuba which fortified the Yamén in its repugnance. Humanity might have very little to say to its attitude : but with reports such as those from Cuba obtaining currency, the

Ministers would naturally shrink from incurring the unpopularity of measures, which, as one of them observed, might be described by an enemy as having facilitated the perdition of the emigrant labourer. "In the South," added Mr. Wade, "the local Government seems in its slow way to be doing something to arrest the transmission of coolies to the Macao barracoons: but, unless by the union of the larger Powers, the iniquities (exaggerated though no doubt they may be) of the Macao system, the Cuba system, and the system in Peru, can be so far repressed as to make it impossible for the Chinese to identify emigration with slavery, I am satisfied that an attempt to re-open negotiations here would be pure waste of time."

Emigration agency for Cuba opened at Canton.

Meanwhile Mr. Sampson reported on the 11th November, 1871, that a Spanish emigration agency for Cuba had during that month been opened at Canton. Embarkations of male adult Chinese took place in Spanish ships between the 2nd December, 1871, and the 26th January, 1872, after which the agency closed for the season. This Cuban emigration was, nominally at least, conducted in accordance with the terms of the Convention of 1866: and the 6th and 7th clauses of the contracts, under which the emigrants were engaged, read as follows:—

"6. At the end of the five years' service, the master will give me \$50 as a return passage. If I do not wish to go back to China, and wish to stay in Havana to work, then I must enter into another engagement for five years, and half the above sum, namely \$25, will be given to me as a bonus, and at the end of the second five years the original sum of \$50 will be paid for my passage back to China."

" 7. If after arrival the emigrant becomes incurably ill, so as to be unable to work, without waiting for the expiry of the contract, the master may at once pay the \$50 to enable him to return to China. If the master does not do so, the emigrant may petition the authorities."

**Proposal
that
British
Guiana
should
offer the
same
terms as
Cuba.**

Mr. Sampson pointed out that these payments, so far as their magnitude was concerned, would scarcely be objected to by the planters of Demerara : but that \$50 was not adequate for a return passage. The Spaniards, however, said that ships occasionally sailed from Cuba direct to China, and that a passage in them could be obtained for the sum named : but this Mr Sampson was unable to verify. At the suggestion of Mr. (now Sir Clinton) Murdoch, the Earl of Kimberley requested Governor Scott to ascertain whether the planters of British Guiana considered it worth their while to offer the same terms that had been offered by Cuba. The Governor replied in March 1872, that the planters would willingly accept Chinese emigrants on these terms : and on the 9th April 1872, the West India Committee also expressed the hope "that the advantages allowed to the Spanish might be extended to the British emigration, as there was no doubt that British Guiana and Trinidad would be willing to receive Chinese emigrants on the terms referred to above." Governor Scott, however, added, that the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society at Georgetown, through whom the opinion of the planters had been ascertained, distinctly protested against being supposed to promise a back-passage to the emigrant for \$50, a sum which was less than the cost of a return

passage from the West Indies to India. Accordingly on the 22nd May, 1872, the Earl of Kimberley inquired whether Earl Granville had any objection to the emigration agent in China, Mr. Sampson, being authorised, subject to the consent of the Chinese Government, to open an agency on the same terms as those offered by the Spanish agency, the emigrants being given to understand that the Colonial Governments did not guarantee that \$50 would cover the cost of a return passage. Earl Granville replied on the 30th *idem* that he proposed in the first instance to consult Mr. Wade; and he added on the 24th June, 1872, that, as the French and British Governments were engaged in joint negotiation with the Chinese Government for the establishment of a system of coolie emigration, he was "unwilling to take a step, which might have the effect of embarrassing the conduct of these negotiations, without the consent of the French Government." He, therefore, instructed Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador at Paris, to inquire whether the French Government saw any objection to the proposal. In consequence of these delays it was not until the 9th August, 1872, that Earl Granville instructed Mr. Wade to request the Chinese Government to allow the British emigration agent to open an emigration depôt on the same conditions as the Spanish agent. Mr. Wade was further directed to communicate the result of his negotiations to Mr. Sampson who received instructions at the same time from the Emigration Commissioners "to take the promptest steps for selecting and despatching suitable emigrants to British Guiana" as soon as he received a notification from Mr. Wade that the emigration was to be set on foot. Mr. Sampson was further instructed that the

emigrants were to be distinctly apprised that the British Government did not guarantee that they would be able to obtain a return passage from the West Indies to China for \$50.

**Negotia-
tions with
Governor-
General
at Canton.**

On the 18th September, 1872, Mr. Wade telegraphed from Peking that he had written to Canton to ask if the Agent could obtain emigrants on the terms proposed, and that he would act according to the Agent's reply. Mr. Sampson replied in the affirmative; and, on learning that a Macao Spaniard was treating for the hire of a house in Canton, in which to open an emigration agency for Cuba, he represented to Mr. (now Sir Brooke) Robertson, the British Consul at Canton, that he was prepared to offer terms similar to those which would probably be offered by the Spaniard. The Consul conveyed these representations to the Governor-General of the Liang Kuang provinces, to whom he also submitted the Spanish form of contract with a few verbal alterations. In the course of time the Governor-General returned an amended form of contract, which, he said, Mr. Sampson must either accept in its entirety or not at all. Some of the conditions in this amended contract were quite inadmissible—one of them, for example, was that each immigrant should have three stamps impressed on his arm, the first at the Emigration Office, the second at a military station on the river, and a third at Whampoa, any coolie not having these three stamps on his arm, when the ship was ready for sea, to be released!—but, acting under the advice of Sir B. Robertson, Mr. Sampson again amended the contract, endeavouring to meet the views of the Governor-General as far as was possible, having regard to the spirit

of the instructions from the Emigration Commissioners, and aiming at the exclusion of the offensive tone which, to English minds at least, pervaded* some of the proposed additions. The form of contract thus re-amended by Mr. Sampson was finally, after considerable persuasion on the part of the Consul, approved by the Governor-General.* If the wording of this contract is not quite what is desirable, its history should be borne in mind. Originally drawn up in Spanish, and then somewhat ambiguously translated into Chinese, this Chinese version was rendered into English by Mr. Sampson, whose rendering was modified in London. Thus modified, the document was again translated into Chinese, altered and added to by the Governor-General, and again translated into English and amended by Mr. Sampson.

**Chinese
emigration
to British
Guiana
resumed.**

Matters having reached this point, Mr. Sampson, in a letter to the Consul dated the 24th January, 1873, made formal application for permission from the Governor-General to re-open his emigration depôt in the premises situated in the streets known as Kam-li-fou and Lik-ling-li for the engagement of emigrants for British Guiana, adding that he was authorised to engage 3,000 emigrants for that colony, that he was prepared to commence operations at once, and that he would cordially conform to such regulations as the British Consul and the Chinese authorities might jointly consider requisite or desirable for the protection of the emigrants. To this letter Sir B. Robertson replied on the 30th *idem*, that the Governor-General sanctioned the re-opening of the emigration depôt for obtaining

* A copy of this contract is given in Appendix F.

coolies for the British West Indies on the terms contained in the approved contract,* and would depute officers to act in conjunction with Mr. Sampson in the matter. Accordingly, Mr. Sampson wrote to the Emigration Commissioners on the 4th February, 1873, expressing a hope that, although their letter of instruction had required him to await sanction from Peking, there would be no objection to his availing of the local approval of the Governor-General at Canton, but adding that, until the contracts were printed and the Chinese new year holiday was passed, little progress could be made in engaging emigrants. In reply, Sir Clinton Murdoch telegraphed on the 18th March, 1873, instructing Mr. Sampson to open the emigration at once upon the sanction received from the Governor-General of the Liang Kuang provinces.

* *Vide* Appendix F.



CHAPTER X.

END OF CONTRACT EMIGRATION FROM CHINA TO BRITISH GUIANA (1874-5).

Mr. Sampson re-opens his Depôt at Canton. After a delay arising from the Chinese new year holidays, Mr. Sampson formally re-opened his emigration depôt at Canton on the 14th February, 1873, at the same time causing the fact to be known by posting notices in and around Canton, as well as advertising in the Chinese newspapers at Hong Kong. His best hopes were centred in the influence of certain emigrants, who had returned from British Guiana, and who had been recommended by the Government of that Colony as likely to prove useful in the collection of other emigrants.

Fourteen Chinese repatriated in 1870 : and fifteen in 1871. The story of these, the only Chinese emigrants repatriated from British Guiana, is worth preserving. When, in 1870, Governor J. Scott was on a tour of inspection in Berbice, the Chinese on Plantation Skeldon, of whom there were a large number under indenture on that estate, waited upon him with the request that some of them should be given back-passages in the next return ship to India. The manager of the plantation consented to forego any claim he might have for their services, and the Governor thereupon consented to provide a free passage for ten of their number to Calcutta, whence they would have to find their own way to China. In

these circumstances fourteen Chinese, ten being from Plantation Skeldon, sailed from Georgetown in the *Ganges* on the 14th September, 1870 ; and, as most of them expressed their intention of returning to British Guiana after visiting their friends, Governor Scott arranged that they should have free passages back to the Colony from Calcutta, if they desired it. These Chinese duly reached Calcutta in the *Ganges* and proceeded to Hong Kong in the *Hindoostan*, a vessel belonging to Messrs. Apar and Company. Again, in 1871, a family of fifteen Chinese paid their own passages back to China travelling *viâ* Calcutta. The action of Governor Scott in facilitating the return of these Chinese was considered both by the Emigration Commissioners and by Lord Kimberley "a very judicious and politic step," which might be productive of advantage to the Colony, should Chinese immigration be resumed : for Mr. Sampson had always insisted that one of his greatest difficulties in procuring labourers for the British West Indies was the non-return of any of the Chinese who went there.

Assistance of returned emigrants in recruiting.

It was to one of these returned emigrants, named Ch'an Kun-po, that Mr. Sampson now looked for assistance. He had a long discussion with Ch'an, at which they both concluded that the season was too far advanced to attempt operations in the country. In the meantime the depot had been opened, but Mr. Sampson refrained from chartering a ship, wishing first to test his powers of filling her. The result, he reported on the 25th February, 1873, had so far been very unsatisfactory, but few men—and they not of a very desirable class—evinced a willingness to emigrate, and not one family.

Thus the operations of the season 1872-3 proved abortive : but, with the permission of the Governor-General, Mr. Sampson again opened his depôt at Canton on the 1st September, 1873, and at the same time procured from the Nam-hoi* magistrate a special licence authorizing Ch'an Kun-po to make known in the districts of San-on† and Tung-kun‡ the terms of contract-emigration to the British West Indies. Mr. Sampson anticipated securing a nucleus of Hak-ka§ families through his instrumentality, and reported on the 25th September that the collection of emigrants appeared to be progressing favourably, there being already upwards of 200 in his depôt.

**Despatch
of the
Corona.**

Suitable tonnage was, however, scarce, and Mr. Sampson was obliged to accept the *Corona*, a vessel of 1,200 tons register, at the high rate of £16 *per caput*. The provincial authorities co-operated cordially : but Mr. Sampson had much trouble with the Macao crimps, whose boldness in enticing emigrants to leave his depôt had, under the influence of large offers of "head-money," been excessive ; and it was not until the 3rd November that the first instalment of 77 emigrants were actually embarked in the *Corona*, which ultimately sailed from Whampoa on the morning of the 13th December, with 314 men, 40 women, 26 boys, 5 girls and 3 infants, being in all 388 souls or 269½ statute adults—108 less than the number which the ship could legally have carried.

* 南海, a district in Canton itself.

† See note on p. 118 *supra*.

‡ See note on p. 14 *supra*.

**Scarcity
of suitable
emigrants.**

Notwithstanding the anxiety which Mr. Sampson naturally felt at the prospect of being obliged to despatch the *Corona* without her full complement, he in no way relaxed the principle of accepting none whom he did not consider fit for, or at least fit to be trained to, agricultural labour in the West Indies, and he spared no pains to ensure perfect voluntariness on the part of the emigrants and a full understanding of the prospect before them. He attributed the scarcity of suitable emigrants in some measure to the cheapness of rice and the then peaceful and prosperous condition of Kuang-tung; but it would be foolish, he wrote, to be blind to the fact that Demerara had not established for herself in the eyes of the Chinese labouring classes a sufficiently good reputation to induce any wide-spread desire to go there under contract. In one respect, however, the *Corona* differed from any other emigrant-ship sent to the British West Indies: for the greater part of her passengers were people who had discussed the subject of emigrating in their own homes with friends, who had returned from Demerara, several of whom went back to Georgetown in the ship.

The *Corona* reached Georgetown on the 23rd February, 1874: and there landed from her 313 men, 40 women, 26 boys, 5 girls and 4 infants. One man had died and one infant had been born during the 78 days voyage which well merited Governor J. R. Longden's remark* that it had been "one of the most successful ever made."

* Despatch to S. of S., dated 5th May, 1874.

**Result
of special
contracts
used for
emigrants
in the
Corona.**

It will be remembered that the *Corona* immigrants came under a special form of contract*, and it is interesting to note from a report by Mr. Crosby, the Immigration Agent General, dated the 1st March, 1880, when all these contracts were time-expired, that the result of the experiment was as follows :—

	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Chinese immigrants who had received \$50 in accordance with contract	184	—	5	—	189
Chinese who quitted their estates before the completion of contract for five years and were not entitled to receive \$50 ...	84	—	1	—	85
Chinese women, boys and girls not entitled to receive \$50 ...	—	36	23	5	64
Chinese immigrants who had commuted and were not entitled to receive \$50	11	—	—	—	11
Deaths during the period of five years	32	3	—	1	36

**Chinese
emigration
again
suspended.** Meanwhile, however, the Government of British Guiana had telegraphed to Lord Kimberley on the 26th November, 1873, requesting that Mr. Sampson should not send more than one ship to British Guiana until further

*Vide Appendix F.

notice. These instructions were duly transmitted to Canton, where Mr. Sampson received them just as his last batch of emigrants were stepping into the boat which took them to Whampoa. He accordingly at once reduced his establishment and suspended all further operations for the season.

Reasons for suspending Chinese emigration. For the season 1873-4, the number of emigrants originally requisitioned by British Guiana was 14,875 Indians and 3,010 Chinese : but these numbers were eventually cut down to 8,301 Indians and 388 Chinese.

For the following season 1874-5, a very large reduction was made in the original requisitions, the numbers applied for being only 3,500 Indians and 1,000 Chinese, while the requisition for Chinese was withdrawn during the spring of 1874. Two reasons were given by Mr. E. E. Rushworth, the Officer Administering the Government of British Guiana, for this sudden reduction in the demand for immigrants. In the first place, he explained that three years previously the Indian Government had represented that it would facilitate the proper collection and shipment of immigrants for British Guiana, if the annual requisitions were sent to India so as to be in the hands of the agent at Calcutta a full year in advance. Accordingly the applications by the representatives of estates for immigrants for the season 1873-4, were required to be sent in before the last day of May, 1871, and at that date amounted to the total of 17,885 given above. But since then there had been a considerable fall in the price of sugar, the staple product of the Colony, and a continuous increase in the rate of passage money of the emigrants. Moreover, the local commercial and planting community had during the year 1873

sustained several heavy failures, which had a very depressing effect, while owing to the unfavourable character of the rainy season of that year, the sugar-making operations had been considerably deranged. In the second place, the effect of Ordinance No. 7 of 1873, which consolidated and amended the law relating to immigrants, and which was framed upon the report of the Commissioners appointed in 1870 to inquire into the treatment of immigrants in British Guiana, had been to reduce the contribution towards immigration expenses made from the general revenue of the colony from one-third to one-sixth. Mr. Rushworth estimated that under the fiscal provisions of this Ordinance, proprietors of estates would be obliged to reduce their future requisitions for immigrants to less than half their original indent for the season 1873-4 : and the planters themselves considered that it would be more judicious, in face of the increased incidence on them of the cost of immigration, to limit their prospective liability.

**Mr.
Sampson's
services
dispensed
with.**

For these reasons Mr. Sampson was instructed by the Emigration Commissioners in a letter, dated the 26th March, 1874, to suspend all operations for the ensuing season : and in a further letter, dated the 16th April, 1874, he was notified, at the request of the Government of British Guiana, that his services as Emigration Agent would be dispensed with at the end of six months, and that he would subsequently be informed of the manner in which the property belonging to the Colony should be disposed of. This further information was conveyed to him in a letter from the Government Secretary, dated the 15th June, 1874, which stated that the

emigration depôt at Canton would remain in the care of the Chinese interpreter Ch'ân Pun, who would continue to receive salary at the rate of \$40 a month. Mr. Sampson replied on the 13th August, 1874, that, in view of this decision, the expenses at Canton would in future be "the semi-annual rental of the depôt (amounting to \$462.94), the necessary watchmen and coolies (say \$17 a month), making in all a monthly expenditure of \$134.16 without any margin for contingencies."

Lord Carnarvon suggests entire abandonment of Chinese immigration.

However, in a despatch dated the 28th August, 1874, the Earl of Carnarvon observed that contract emigration from China to British Guiana, after being suspended for an interval of eight years by the action of the Chinese Central Government, had been resumed for one season under an arrangement made with the Provincial Government of Canton, which, although it had not been disallowed by the Central Government, was not favourably regarded by the Tsung-li Yamèn, as not being in literal accordance with the terms agreed to by them in 1866 : that British Guiana was the only British Colony to which there was any question of contract emigration from China : and that after a single season Chinese emigration to British Guiana had again been suspended, on this occasion by the Colonial Government. Taking these circumstances into consideration, together with the heavy expenses of the Chinese immigration and the resources of the labour market in India, the Earl of Carnarvon suggested for the consideration of the Colonial Government and Legislature the expediency of the entire abandonment of Chinese immigration.

Decision of Court of Policy. This suggestion was debated in the Court of Policy on the 29th October, 1874, when Mr. H. S. Bascom

moved :—"That in accordance with the recommendation of the Secretary of State, in view of existing difficulties and impediments, the emigration from China be suspended for the present—but the Court at the same time expresses a hope that it may be resumed at the earliest moment possible with the approval of the Imperial Government of China." In moving the resolution Mr. Bascom stated it to be desirable that the depôt at Canton should be retained, in order "to show that the idea of carrying on emigration from that place had not been entirely abandoned." Mr. Robert Smith seconded the resolution, but thought that the premises had better be given up. Mr. W. Russell considered that it might be advisable "to get clear of Canton altogether, and then, when emigration was resumed, to commence upon a new basis at Swatow." He added that he did not wish it to be supposed that he was adverse to immigration from China. It was, in his opinion, just the right place to get people from to colonize British Guiana, and the more he saw of the Chinese the more pleased he was with them. The last lot, which came in the *Corona*, although they cost a great deal of money, had given the greatest satisfaction ; and he questioned very much whether, notwithstanding their cost, they were not cheaper than coolies from India. It was amazing, he said, how they could, soon after landing in a new country, learn to put their hands to any kind of work. Very many of them came to British Guiana as shoemakers, tailors, jewellers, etc., and in a very short time they turned out to be the best estates' labourers, especially as field hands. Governor J. R. Long-

den endorsed the view of the elective section of the Court, and remarked that "the Chinese were "the most intelligent and the most hardworking "people to be met with in the Colony." Nevertheless, the feeling of the Court was that the premises at Canton should be closed at once, and should be disposed of as soon as possible to the best advantage, and Mr. Bascom's resolution was carried unanimously. The Governor, when forwarding this decision to the Earl of Carnarvon in a despatch dated the 31st October, 1874, wrote : — "It is to me a matter of much regret that "circumstances should have made it so unavoidably necessary to close this emigration. The "little I have seen of Chinese labourers in Honduras, in Trinidad and in this Colony, has led "me to hold them in great respect as by far "the most intelligent, the most industrious and the "most self-reliant of all the emigrants who come "to these colonies. These are the qualities in "which the native peasantry are very deficient, "and the example of Chinese energy and Chinese "success could not fail to be useful both to the "creole and the coolie."

**History
of 1854
and 1862
repeated
in 1874.**

Thus the history of 1854 and of 1862 was repeated in 1874. Financial exigencies compelled the Court of Policy in 1854, to reduce the Colony's demands for immigrants : the Emigration Commissioners pointed out that the cost of introducing East Indians was less than the cost of importing Chinese : and at the instance of Governor Wodehouse it was then decided to put a stop to Chinese immigration. Similarly in 1862, there was dissatisfaction at the cost of Chinese immigration as organized by Mr. J. G. Austin : no new capital

was likely to be employed in producing sugar : there was insolvency among the planters ; immigration indents were therefore reduced, and at the instance of Governor Hincks, the system of Chinese emigration built up by the Colony's agent in China was demolished ; although on that occasion emigration from China was not entirely suspended. In 1874, a similar financial crisis in British Guiana led to similar action, initiated this time by the Secretary of State for the Colonies : but one cannot help feeling surprised at the patience with which for seven years the Colony paid £1,600 annually to support an agency at Canton which, throughout that long period did not ship a single Chinese emigrant to Demerara, and at the sudden impatience with which, on Lord Carnarvon's suggestion, the agency was closed in the eighth year, just after its operations had successfully recommenced, the more so as the planters had formed a high opinion of the value of Chinese labour.

**Mr.
Firth sent
to China
to report
on pros-
pects of
renewing
Chinese
emigra-
tion.**

Even now the end had not come. For, as in 1854 and 1862, so in 1874, the planters soon repented of their decision. The resolution of the 29th October, 1874, while suspending Chinese emigration, had expressed the hope that it would be resumed at the earliest moment possible : and at the request of the planters, Mr.

H. A. Firth, the Emigration Agent for British Guiana at Calcutta, left for China on the 17th March, 1875, to report on the prospects of emigration from that country to Demerara. On arrival in Hong Kong, he was fortunate in finding no other than Mr. J. G. Austin, formerly Immigration Agent General in British Guiana and

afterwards Emigration Agent for the British West Indies in China, administering the Government of that Colony. Acting upon Mr. Austin's advice, Mr. Firth proceeded without delay to Canton, where Mr. Sampson, whose salary from British Guiana had ceased on the 5th December, 1874, continued to occupy the Agency residence and still held charge of the depôt on behalf of the Colonial Government. Mr. Sampson informed his visitor that the Agency residence had cost \$6,600, and that the depôt was held on lease terminable at three months' notice, the rent being \$77.15 *per mensem*.

**Analysis
of Mr.
Sampson's
accounts.**

The following was the analysis of Mr. Sampson's accounts amounting to \$85,388.06 for the past eight years, during which period only 371 statute adults had been shipped :—

	\$	c.
Salaries, wages... ..	54,685	37
Rent, taxes, insurance, repairs	11,445	08
Medical attendance, medicines	863	12
Auditor's fees	792	00
Stamps, stationery, printing	692	09
Pew rent in Church	640	00
Subscription to newspaper	272	30
Miscellaneous	432	66
Travelling expenses	52	00
Expenses of the emigrant ship "Corona"...	15,513	44

Total expenditure during eight years ...\$ 85,388 06

**Draw-
backs to
Canton.**

Mr. Sampson told Mr. Firth that it would be very difficult to collect a large number of real field labourers at any season of the year at Canton.

So convinced was he of the utter hopelessness of such an undertaking, that he would not again, if the chance were offered to him, so he stated,

accept the responsibility of conducting an emigration agency, which would exclude recruits indigenous to the city and depend entirely for supplies from the agricultural districts beyond. Mr. Firth's own observations in Canton led him to remark that "any West Indian planter, after "strolling leisurely through its streets for a few "days, and 'closely observing its inhabitants, "would assuredly not approve of it as a recruiting "ground for shovelmén and cane-cutters." The town was crowded with people, but they were mostly artificers, artisans, shop-keepers, pedlars and men of that stamp : muscular, young and healthy-looking enough, it was true, but unquestionably not fit for field labour. No doubt, a larger proportion of women, such as were purchased for concubines, might be drawn from Canton than elsewhere ; but, like the men, they had never been engaged in agriculture, and many would succumb on exposure to the weather in the cultivated fields of Demerara. If the men were really serviceable, then (Mr. Firth thought) the women might perhaps be accepted : but under the circumstances it was decidedly better to lose all than take any. In this opinion he was confirmed by consulting some of the oldest foreign residents at Canton, and the further he inquired into the capabilities of the neighbourhood as a recruiting ground for prædial labourers, the more he was surprised to find that Canton had been clung to so long.

Another serious drawback to Canton presented itself in the distance of the anchorage at Whampoa, twelve miles from the dépôt. Not more than 300 emigrants could be comfortably housed in the dépôt at once, so that a portion of each shipment had to be accommodated on ship-board, far away

from the immediate supervision of the agent, waiting sometimes for weeks until the balance could be collected. Here was a fruitful and endless source of trouble, leading at times—as in the case of the first voyage of the *Pride of the Ganges* in December, 1865,—to disastrous consequences. Again the proximity of Macao had been prejudicial to the success of emigration to British Guiana from Canton. The system of kidnapping, practised so long by the Macao dealers, was notorious throughout the south of China, and probably in no place was this nefarious traffic so extensively conducted as in and around Canton. With crimps constantly prowling about ready to carry off clandestinely and by force, if necessary, any unfortunate coolie who came their way, a wholesome dread of all recruiters prevailed amongst the Chinese, and the honest collector had a poor chance in the midst of all the rascality and artifices of the unprincipled kidnapper.

**Import-
ance of
rapid,
regular
and cheap
communi-
cation by
steamer.**

Sir Brooke Robertson, the British Consul at Canton, laid particular stress during an interview with Mr. Firth, on the necessity of providing a return passage at the end of five years. He believed that emigration from Canton to the West Indies without the provision of a back-passage would never be successful, that the want of it had been a mistake from the beginning, and that, had it been given at first, hundreds would in all probability be re-emigrating to Demerara at their own expense, accompanied by their families and friends. Mr. Firth, however, pointed out that rapid, regular and cheap communication by steamers was essential to the promotion of a system of voluntary emigration, and that California,

Australia, and other countries afforded facilities for returning to China, which Demerara could not expect to enjoy "until a canal was cut through the Isthmus of Darien." The Chinese seeing thousands constantly returning from California were induced to emigrate themselves; but what good could be expected as the result of a few stragglers from British Guiana arriving at long intervals?

Agency
property
at Canton
sold.

Accordingly, Mr Firth decided that the establishment at Canton would simply involve a further waste of money and, having regard to the resolution adopted by the Court of Policy on the 29th October, 1874, he requested Mr. Sampson to foreclose the lease of the dépôt and to advertise the Agency residence for sale. The house sold for \$4,400 and the furniture for \$323.63. The accounts were closed in a balance sheet, dated the 4th June, 1875, by the transfer of a sum of £952. 4s. 8d. from the Colony's agency at Canton to that in Calcutta, and Mr. Sampson left for England during the same month.



CHAPTER XI.

EXPERIMENT IN FREE EMIGRATION FROM CHINA TO BRITISH GUIANA (1875-9).

Mr. Firth
visits
Swatow.

On returning to Hongkong, Mr. Firth had a consultation with Mr. Austin, who concurred in the action taken at Canton, but entertained hopes that Swatow and Amoy would prove to be good recruiting stations. To Swatow, therefore, Mr. Firth went. He was received there by Mr. Watters, the British Consul, and Mr. Hammond, the Commissioner of Chinese Maritime Customs. The latter supplied a return of emigration from Swatow since 1868, showing that no contract emigration took place during this period, but that in seven years no fewer than 155,316 Chinese emigrated at their own expense, and 63,193 returned. In addition to these figures, which probably somewhat understated the actual stream of emigration, there were many who left in Chinese craft, of which the Maritime Customs took no note. The adjacent country, notwithstanding the drain of so large an exodus, was densely populous, far in excess of the means of livelihood, and extreme poverty prevailed among the labouring classes. "The coolies, generally speaking," wrote Mr. Firth, "are quiet and inoffensive, and different altogether from the turbulent spirits about Canton. They are chiefly occupied in the cultivation of sugar cane, in small patches of land, at which they work in groups, father, mother and children, and occasionally an outsider accepts a job at nominal

"wages. The sugar is extracted in the rudest
 "and most primitive manner conceivable, . . .
 "packed in baskets for the market, and in
 "that state reaches the merchants. I saw
 "quantities of it in their godowns, and dirty
 "looking stuff it was. I am told it sells for
 "about £14 a ton, and is shipped largely to
 "Australia and the northern ports of China.
 "Here, it is undeniable, prospects assume an
 "aspect of promise different to what was seen at
 "Canton, and the very sort of labourers we want
 "in Demerara are swarming on all sides."

But at the outset Mr. Firth was confronted by two discouraging facts. About five miles from the town he was shown the spot where the emigration depôt of British Guiana, then abandoned, formerly stood. He was also reminded that during the existence of that Agency only 354 Chinese emigrants had actually embarked for Demerara. Mr. Austin, however, whose opinion was entitled to great weight, had always regarded Swatow as a most important position for emigration purposes, and Mr. Watters had not the slightest hesitation in recommending a trial, as he believed plenty of emigrants would be found anxious enough for the opportunity. Accordingly, acting upon the Consul's advice, Mr. Firth approached Mr. Thomas William Richardson, senior partner of the firm of Messrs. Bradley and Company, a man who was looked up to by all classes at Swatow, stood well with the Chinese officials, spoke the local dialect, and had ample means and every appliance at his command for engaging and shipping emigrants. Mr. Richardson stated that about 1,000 men might be despatched during the first season, to be followed by 2,000 yearly, at a cost of some \$47 each, including a bonus of \$20.

He was willing to undertake the business for \$240 *per mensem* and 1% on disbursements. In regard to the cost *per caput*, an analysis of the old accounts, made at Canton with the assistance of Mr. Sampson, gave an average of \$41 exclusive of bonus for an emigration of 2,000 statute adults a year, and of \$38 for 3,000 statute adults a year; and at the three ports—Canton, Swatow and Amoy the average *per caput* expenses had been nearly the same.

At Amoy, the next port visited, Mr. Firth introduced himself at once to Messrs. Boyd and Company, who had formerly acted as Emigration

Agents, under Mr. Austin and Mr. Sampson. Mr. Robert Craig, the resident partner, retained possession of the old registers and papers, and was able to give very full information. Mr. W. H. Peddar, late British Consul at Amoy, was being succeeded in his post by Mr. George Phillips, so Mr. Firth had the benefit of their joint advice. He also met Mr. A. Fraser, who had been connected for some time with the Consulate. These gentlemen were unanimous in their belief in the capabilities of the place for supplying emigrants, and could suggest no better plan than re-opening the agency under Messrs. Boyd and Company's management; and, since Mr. Craig occupied the same social position at Amoy as Mr. Richardson did in Swatow, the agency might (Mr. Firth thought) with advantage be placed in his hands, especially in view of his previous experience and his friendly relations with the local authorities, Chinese and foreign. In years gone by, Amoy had contributed to the British West Indies 2,487 emigrants, of whom 2,061 were embarked in two years, 1865 and 1866, almost as many as Canton furnished in

populace, and the placards, which were exhibited as advertisements, were torn to pieces and obliterated. "In the south," he wrote, "emigration has become fashionable and is regularly organized by local custom; whereas in the north it is looked at with suspicion, and rumours of the disreputable character of the Macao trade are rife amongst the people." Moreover, at Ningpo, where his steamer stayed twenty-four hours on her return passage to Hongkong, Mr. Firth found that the same feeling existed as at Shanghai about emigrants.

Emigration from Hongkong.

From Hongkong there was, and had been for years, an enormous emigration: but the thousands who embarked there came from the mainland and were not natives of the colony. A summary made by Mr. Thomsett, the Emigration Officer at Hongkong, of all Chinese, who had left the island to serve under contract in various British and foreign countries since 1856, showed that out of a total of 19,280, Demerara took nearly a fourth. There had been no contract emigration from Hongkong since 1870, and, except to British possessions and in British vessels, it was at the time of Mr. Firth's visit strictly prohibited. A grand total of 266,326 free emigrants had sailed from Hongkong to different parts of the world between the years 1845 and 1874. During Mr. Firth's short stay in China, about 6,000 Chinese embarked at Hongkong chiefly for California and Australia, and there was a steady voluntary current of emigration flowing to the Straits Settlements. In eight years, from 1867 to 1874, there returned to Hongkong 154,654 male adult Chinese, of whom 37,212 came from San Francisco in vessels conveying bullion to the value of \$32,486,160. Now it had

often been proposed to open an agency at Hongkong, so as to escape from the operation of the Convention of 1866, but Mr. Sampson had always been opposed to the proposal. Mr. Firth was also opposed to the proposal upon three grounds. In the first place, he pointed out that the kind of emigrants wanted for Demerara could only be found in abundance at Amoy or Swatow, and that no one of these would think of leaving his home without first receiving an advance of ten or fifteen dollars. The advance paid and the passage defrayed, the coolie reached Hongkong and then—absconded. The Australian Colonies had had to relinquish the attempt to obtain labour from Hongkong on account of the heavy loss by desertions, and it was not likely that Demerara would fare better. In the next place, free emigration, conducted on such an extensive scale as it was in Hongkong, presented so many attractions and inducements to the Chinese that contract emigration had no chance of working side by side with it, except at a cost which the West Indian Colonies could not bear. And, lastly, the facilities afforded by the steamers, which ran to California and Australia, carrying a thousand passengers at a time for about \$40 each, and the short distances of the numerous settlements in the Malay Peninsular, operated unfavourably for emigration by long voyages in sailing vessels to the more distant West Indies. So long as Chinese could go and return rapidly and cheaply to and from the lucrative fields of Australia and California, and so long as highly remunerative works abounded in nearer countries, contract emigration had but a poor chance of success from Hongkong. Mr. Firth had an opportunity of practically testing these views. The Natal Government had instructed him to engage 35

artisans and 365 labourers for making public roads and constructing harbour works ; and the very lowest rate, at which he could get the labourers was \$11 a month with rations.

Mr. Firth visits Singapore, On the return voyage to Calcutta, Mr. Firth stopped at Singapore and at Penang, to ascertain how far it was practicable to carry out Mr. Wade's suggestion of an agency in the Straits Settlements. "The preponderance of Chinese," he wrote, "is the first thing that strikes a stranger landing at both these colonies. Street after street is monopolized by them. They are gradually elbowing the Malays into the back ground." Mr. Firth was assisted in his inquiries at Singapore by Mr. Maxwell, the Superintendent of Police, and at Penang by Mr. W. G. Maxwell, the Magistrate of Province Wellesley ; while the Governor, Colonel Sir Andrew Clarke, who was leaving the Colony by the same steamer as Mr. Firth to assume a new appointment in India as member of the Supreme Council, gave Mr. Firth the benefit of his views on the subject during their passage to Calcutta. Emigration under contract from Singapore to foreign possessions and in foreign ships was not, as in Hongkong, forbidden. On the contrary, it had been the policy of Sir Andrew Clarke to promote the industries of the neighbouring independent Malay States, and this policy had met with general approbation and conduced largely to the welfare of the Colony. Hence a considerable voluntary emigration was springing up under the patronage of the Sultan of Johore and other Rajahs in the Malay Peninsular, who were endeavouring to develop the vast natural resources of their territories, where pepper and gambia plantations

called for labourers and, above all, the tin mines offered great attractions to the Chinese. Besides this, some 1,000 Chinese had left Singapore annually for the past three years to work under contract in Sumatra, engaging for one year only, foremen at \$12 and ordinary labourers at \$6 a month with rations. Three months' wages were advanced and a free passage given in the Dutch mail-steamer, which ran across in a few days. Rather more than a year before, two hundred men were engaged in Singapore for works in Western Australia, and, in 1875, one hundred more. They contracted for two years at \$8 a month with rations, each receiving an advance of \$24 and a free return passage. The demands from Australia were multiplying, and the tobacco planters in Sumatra were willing to pay high rates.

**And
Penang.**

At Penang Mr. Firth met Captain Speed, of Abyssinian fame, then political resident of Larut. Little more than a year before Larut had been depopulated and ruined by internal warfare : but Sir Andrew Clarke by his judicious policy restored peace, and a rush to the tin mines at Larut increased the population in eleven months from 4,000 to 33,000, of whom 26,000 were Chinese. This, said Captain Speed, bade fair to be trebled by the end of 1875, so that an influx of over 50,000 was expected during the year then current. Four-fifths of these Chinese immigrants were miners, and the remainder blacksmiths, carpenters, gardeners and shopkeepers.

In face of these facts, seeing that Demerara could not offer better terms, and considering how much longer was the voyage to the West Indies, Mr. Firth thought that "it would be madness to attempt "an Emigration Agency in Singapore." Labourers, moreover, were actually wanted in the Straits

Settlements, and a Bill was introduced on the 1st July, 1875, before the Supreme Court of India to regulate emigration, previously uncontrolled, from the Coromandel Coast to the Malay Peninsular.

Mr. Firth recommends Amoy and Swatow as recruiting centres.

On his return to the British Guiana Emigration Agency at No. 8 Garden Reach, Calcutta, Mr. Firth in a long letter, dated the 10th July, 1875, upon which the foregoing summary is based, concluded that it might be safe, after a year's experience at Amoy and Swatow, to charter for three successive seasons, five or six vessels annually, each carrying from 350 to 400 Chinese emigrants to Demerara. "It is all "important," he added, "that there should be "steady, fixed and continuous annual demand for "Chinese. Sudden rises or falls, fluctuating from "4,000 to 1,000, disorganize and imperil the "agencies in China." The most favourable season for collecting coolies in China, was stated to be February, March and April, after the celebration of their New Year's festivities ; but vessels leaving then would arrive at Georgetown during the rainy season, endangering acclimatization of the immigrants. "It would, therefore," thought Mr. Firth, "be desirable to arrange the sailing dates for "October, November and December, so as to "escape the sharp seasoning process."

Possibility of independent voluntary emigration from China to British Guiana.

The possibility of independent, voluntary emigration to Demerara was also considered by Mr. Firth. On this subject he wrote as follows:—"The cost to the China-man to get across may be assumed at \$80, and he would be 90 "days at sea. If he can go to "California or Australia by steamers in less than

" one-third of the time and for half the amount, it
 " is natural to suppose he will not direct his
 " attention to Demerara ; and, if he choses, he
 " can in a fortnight find himself landed in the
 " Straits Settlements for \$15, where a higher
 " wage awaits him ; and from any of these places
 " his return to China is a very easy affair. The
 " bulk, however, of the free emigrants comprises
 " men of no means. Probably not 5% are able to
 " pay their own passages. How, then, are these
 " poor and penniless men to get across the water ?
 " The system is somewhat like this. A Chinese
 " merchant in Australia, for instance, wants 800
 " or 1,000 coolies for the gold-diggings : he sends
 " the order to his merchant-friend in Hongkong,
 " who procures the coolies, charters the steamer,
 " and despatches her with the people. The
 " steamer is fitted and provisioned by him in
 " strict accordance with the Act of Parliament and
 " under the eye of the Emigration Officers in
 " Hongkong, and the emigrants are examined
 " and passed by the Health Officer. There is no
 " difficulty in getting the coolies ; any well-
 " reputed labourer is eligible, and the real
 " trouble is to prevent too many getting on
 " board. Security is furnished to the Hongkong
 " merchant before he issues the passage-ticket ;
 " and, if the coolie fails to embark, the money is
 " recovered from the sureties, generally relatives
 " or fellow-villagers. On arrival at Australia the
 " coolie is received by the merchant, who sent the
 " order, and is put to work under Chinese foremen.
 " Deductions are made from his earnings until the
 " cost of his introduction has been refunded.
 " There is no written contract and no recourse to
 " the Law Courts. The whole transaction from
 " beginning to end is arranged by the Chinese in
 " their own peculiar fashion to the mutual profit,

"no doubt, of both merchant and labourer. Though
 "there is no visible contract on paper, the em-
 "ployer does not hesitate to advance the costs, as
 "he feels confident there will be no evasion or
 "breach of the verbal engagement by the coolie.
 "No people other than Chinese could manage an
 "extensive emigration on such a loose basis.
 "Their excessive clannishness, the secret power
 "of their guilds, and the wonderful social combi-
 "nations, with which they surround and secure on
 "all sides the repayment of debts, enable them to
 "do this. Is it practicable for Demerara to draw
 "a steady stream of voluntary emigrants from
 "China? A steamer to convey 1,000 might be
 "chartered for \$80,000, and with other expenses
 "the emigrants would cost \$120 each landed.
 "Are there Chinese merchants in the Colony,
 "having correspondents in Hongkong, who are
 "prepared to advance the expenses? Would the
 "planters provide employment for gangs of one or
 "two hundred at rates to reimburse the importer?
 "Is it possible to work such a scheme without
 "having recourse to indentures, the Immigration
 "Department and the Magistrates' Courts? What
 "provision could be made for the medical treat-
 "ment of the sick, during the process of accli-
 "matization? Would the Government allow the
 "Chinese to manage this in their own way,
 "according to their own lights and with their own
 "regulations—a sort of *imperium in imperio*? Last,
 "but not least, does Demerara offer as good
 "prospects to a Chinaman, as Australia, California,
 "or the Straits? Can a man by ordinary industry,
 "and without living too penuriously put two or
 "three hundred dollars in his pocket in five years?
 "There are millions of suitable emigrants in
 "China, but only the inferior classes will emigrate
 "for the sake of a bare livelihood; there must be

“ some prospect of accumulating money as well,
 “ to induce an outflow of the really efficient
 “ labourers. These are questions for the colonists
 “ to consider. A far better class of emigrants
 “ would assuredly follow from a regular and in-
 “ dependent system. In Singapore and Penang
 “ free emigration has flourished for years ; and,
 “ from what I saw there of voluntary emigrants,
 “ there can be no doubt that a few thousands of
 “ them in Demerara would impart greater vitality
 “ to our sugar industry.”

**Mr.
 Firth's
 report dis-
 cussed by
 Court of
 Policy.**

Mr. Firth's report was laid before the Court of Policy on the 27th September, 1875 : and, after an interval for consideration, the Attorney General (Mr. W. F. Haynes Smith) moved in Court of Policy on the 21st December, 1875, the following resolution :—
 “ The Court, having reference to the resolu-
 “ tion passed on the 29th day of October, 1874,
 “ with respect to the temporary suspension of
 “ emigration from China to this Colony, and
 “ having read and considered the special re-
 “ port of Mr. Firth on the prospects of emigra-
 “ tion from China into British Guiana, hopes
 “ that the time has now arrived when endeavours
 “ may successfully be made, with the approval
 “ of the Imperial Government of China, to re-
 “ sume emigration from China into this Colony,
 “ more especially from the ports of Amoy and
 “ Swatow.” In moving this resolution the Attorney General said that its wording would leave the mode in which immigration was to be conducted entirely open ; but he hoped that, at some future time, the Court would arrive at the conclusion that the best way to introduce immigrants from China would be to bring them at the public expense as

free immigrants and allow them to work as free labourers in the Colony. Mr. W. Russell seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously, although Mr. R. Smith intimated that, if at a future time a proposal to introduce Chinese as free immigrants at the public expense were made, he might feel it his duty to oppose it.

**Governor
Longden's
views.**

The resolution was forwarded to Lord Carnarvon by Governor J. R. Longden in a despatch dated the 15th January, 1876, in which he stated that the conclusion to be drawn from Mr. Firth's report was that "Chinese emigration, if revived at all, should be carried on from China itself and especially from the ports of Amoy and Swatow. I believe," he wrote, "that there is but one opinion in the Colony about the value of the labour of good Chinese labourers, and no reasonable price would be too great to pay for their introduction." He drew special attention to Mr. Firth's remarks on the possibility of setting up "independent voluntary emigration to Demerara," adding that this suggestion would have to be very carefully considered before it could be accepted, if any part of the passage money was to be paid out of the public revenues, but that it was premature to discuss these matters until it was known whether Her Majesty's Government thought that the question of emigration from China to British Guiana could be properly reopened.

**Views of
Sir B.
Robertson.**

Lord Carnarvon referred Governor Longden's despatch to the Foreign Office, and the Earl of Derby replied on the 21st April, 1876, that Her Majesty's Minister at Peking as well as the British Consul at Canton had been instructed to

report upon the matter. It does not appear that Sir Thomas Wade made any report; but Sir Brooke Robertson in a despatch dated the 16th August, 1876, expressed the opinion that if, vessels were sent to Amoy with good Chinese agents from British Guiana on board, and if liberal wages were offered the ships would readily fill with emigrants paying their own passage. He added that it would be unnecessary in such proceedings to apply for the consent of the Chinese Government, which did not interfere with emigration except when it was under contract. Contract Chinese emigration could not, however, be re-established without the consent of the Chinese Government, and there was little hope of obtaining that consent on remunerative conditions.

**Resolutions of
Court of
Policy.**

Meanwhile the question of reviving emigration from China had assumed much greater importance in British Guiana from the failure of Mr. Firth, the Emigration Agent at Calcutta, to send much more than one half of the immigrants applied for from India in the season 1875-6, and from his announcement that he could not rely on more than 2,500 for the season 1876-7, in which requisition had been made for 6,000. In this emergency the planters had given serious attention to Mr. Firth's report on his visit to China; and his suggestion that the emigration, if revived, should be "an independent, voluntary emigration," without contract or indenture of any kind to serve in the Colony, had been received with much favour by the leading planters and many of the unofficial members of the Combined Court. Accordingly Mr. Haynes Smith, the Attorney General, asked the Governor for leave to introduce into the Combined Court a series of six

resolutions, the object of which was to raise a loan for the purpose of establishing emigration from China to British Guiana without contract, it being assumed that free emigration from China of labourers not under contract would not fall within the scope of the Convention of 1866. The first three of these resolutions provided for the issue, at such times as the Governor and Court of Policy might direct, of bonds not exceeding in all \$500,000 (£104,166. 13s. 4d.) : the fourth directed that the money raised by the sale of the bonds should be applied to immigration purposes only : the fifth provided that the immigration should be conducted in such manner as might be ordered by the Governor and Court of Policy : and the sixth provided that an Ordinance should be passed to give effect to the foregoing resolutions. The result of these resolutions would, therefore, have been to leave the conduct of the immigration in the hands of the Government. Governor Longden submitted this proposal to Lord Carnarvon in a despatch, dated the 5th May, 1876, in which he observed that there was nothing new in the proposal to apply a part of the revenues of an insufficiently peopled country to 'the introduction of additional population, nor was there anything new in free emigration of Chinese, able and willing to find their own way in a new country : but that it was open to doubt whether Chinese labourers, introduced freely into the Colony without any contract or obligation to serve on any estate, would find the work on sugar plantations sufficiently remunerative to induce them to remain on the estates : and he pointed out that the proportion of deserters among the Chinese under indenture was always greater than among the Indian coolies. On the other hand, the Chinese were too self-helpful to need all the care required

by the Indians : they were more industrious and earned more wages than the Indians, and they chafed at the restrictions of the indenture system, which was not necessary to their security, and being unnecessary was also inexpedient.

Governor Longden recommends introduction of two shiploads of unindentured Chinese.

Therefore, Governor Longden concluded that the experiment of introducing one, or at most two, shiploads of Chinese immigrants containing collectively about 900 people might fairly be tried, if the Combined Court were willing to provide the cost of such introduction. The Attorney General had proposed a loan of \$500,000 ; but this amount could only be required if the immigration were found to be successful ; and, considering how doubtful success was, the Governor did not think that the experiment should be extended at first beyond two ships, the freight of which ought not to cost more than eighty or ninety thousand dollars.

Lord Carnarvon desires further information.

Lord Carnarvon replied on the 16th June, 1876, that he was unable to approve payment of the whole cost of such an immigration from public funds in British Guiana : but that, assuming it would be justifiable to defray from general revenue a larger proportion than one-third of the expense of introducing free Chinese labour, it would be premature to take any practical financial steps with that object until a satisfactory opinion had been obtained as to the probability of securing immigrants in equal proportions of sexes, and until a statement had been prepared of the basis and pros-

pects of the suggested immigration, together with the necessary details as to climate, wages, and cost of living.

Circular addressed to sugar estates. Upon receipt of this despatch, Governor Longden addressed a circular to the representatives of the 113 sugar plantations, then in cultivation, with the object of ascertaining definitely whether the planters generally desired to engage the services of Chinese labourers, and, if so, in what numbers and upon what terms. To this circular answers in favour of Chinese immigration were received from the representatives of 48 estates only: the remainder either did not desire Chinese labour, or were too indifferent to express any opinion. Many of the estates, from which replies were received in favour of Chinese immigration, were among the largest and best managed in the Colony; but there were others equally large and well-managed among the 65 from whom no replies were received; and Governor Longden thought it impossible to avoid the conclusion that a large number, perhaps a majority of the planters, were indifferent to an emigration, which, not being conducted under contract, did not assure to them any labourers whatever. This feeling was shared even by some of those who professed to be desirous of engaging Chinese labourers; for to three of the answers returned to the first question of the circular, asking whether Chinese labourers were desired, there was attached a condition that they should be under the Master and Servants' Act, and one assented on condition of a six months' hiring.

**Number
of Chinese
labourers
required.**

The total number of Chinese labourers, which the planters' stated that they were prepared to receive during 1877, was 2,550, in batches varying according to the capacity of the estate from 25 to 150 male adults, exclusive of their families, who would be received with them. Assuming that two-thirds of the emigrants were married and had on an average only one child to each married pair, this would bring the emigration up to 5,000 souls. But, as the emigration was to be without contract, there could be little doubt that a considerable portion of the Chinese would upon their arrival be induced to seek a livelihood in other pursuits than agriculture ; and, if only one-third were thus withdrawn, it was clear that to give the planters a reasonable chance of obtaining the 2,550 labourers, whom they were willing to take, nearly 7,000 people must be imported.

**Terms
offered
by the
Planters.**

The terms which the planters offered were, in the opinion of Governor Longden, "fairly satisfactory." They all undertook to guarantee constant employment, at current wages : they all promised hospital accommodation to the men, when sick, and to their families, if they had worked regularly : and they all promised house accommodation on the estate. In regard to garden ground, which the Chinese greatly valued, the answers differed. On four estates half an acre was promised : on twenty-seven estates plots of a quarter to an eighth of an acre were promised : on four estates smaller plots, consisting of a given number of roods, were promised : and on eleven estates no ground was said to be available for gardens. As to leasing properly drained land to the Chinese for cultivating

on their own account, the answers varied : but the representatives of thirty-four estates were prepared to lease land to the Chinese, and in one case such leases were promised for seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years. The land so let would be available for the cultivation of the sugar-cane, of coffee, in some cases of rice, and generally of ground provisions, while the planters would buy canes at from \$3 to \$4 per ton. Upon such terms, Governor Longden thought that "an industrious people, like the Chinese, could hardly fail to secure for themselves a comfortable living and to save money, which would enable them after a time to raise themselves above the status of agricultural labourers."

How cost of free emigration should be defrayed. The next important question was how the cost of a free emigration should be defrayed. Evidently, the precedent of the Indian immigration, which was paid for by indenture fees chiefly, could not be followed ; for, as there was to be no indenture, there could be no indenture fees : nor would the planters be willing to saddle their estates with the cost of importing Chinese, who might perhaps remain not more than a few weeks on any estate. The Attorney General had suggested that the whole cost of the Chinese immigration should be defrayed from the public revenue, on the ground that the emigration was a measure for the public good. Lord Carnarvon had refused to sanction this proposal, but had hinted that he might consider it justifiable to pay a larger proportion than one-third of the expense from the Colonial Treasury. Accordingly, in a despatch dated the 18th November, 1876, Governor Longden asked "to be instructed whether, if the Combined

" Court agreed to it, a proportion not exceeding
 " one-half of the cost might be paid out of the
 " general revenue."

**Manner
 in which
 Planters'
 share of
 cost should
 be raised.**

A further question was in what manner the planters' share of the expenditure, whether one-half or two-thirds, should be raised. It could not be done by indenture fees, and Governor Longden thought that a land-tax for this purpose would be objectionable. "The only practicable means of raising the money," he wrote, "are either
 " by specific duties on estate-supplies or by an
 " export duty; the decision between which
 " may perhaps be left to the Combined Court.
 " Both these means of raising the money are
 " open to the objection that those who desire
 " the Chinese emigration and those who op-
 " pose it, or are indifferent to it, would be
 " taxed equally for its support. This is unavoid-
 " able. If the emigration is set on foot at all
 " and any public money is contributed to it,
 " it must be so on the principle that it is to
 " benefit the whole Colony, and, of course, its
 " principal industry, the production of sugar.
 " And, if the cost is to be divided between
 " the general revenue on the one hand and
 " the planters on the other, the whole body of
 " planters must be regarded as constituting a
 " single interest. And I do not think that this
 " would in practice be unfair; for, to what-
 " ever extent the labour market is supplied
 " with additional agricultural labourers, all the
 " estates may benefit by extending and improv-
 " ing their cultivation, as long as the price of
 " produce in the markets of the world is re-
 " munerative."

Loan suggested. Assuming that a certain proportion of the cost of Chinese immigration was paid out of the revenue and the rest by "planters' taxes," the third question was whether it would be a fair and just measure to spread the cost over a series of years by a loan, or whether it would be more equitable to pay that cost annually, out and out, as was done in the case of the immigration from India. On this point Governor Longden observed that the public revenue was insufficient to bear any large addition to the colonial expenditure without recourse to additional taxation, and that the amount of taxation which it would be necessary to impose on the planters, in order to raise their share of the cost, if it were resolved to pay the whole cost year by year, would probably cause the project to be abandoned. Looking at all the circumstances, and taking especially into consideration the fact that the emigration contemplated was an experiment, the result of which was uncertain, the Governor thought "that the cost of the emigration might probably be spread over a period of (say) ten years by loans, which should not exceed the sum of \$500,000, until the success of the experiment had been so far demonstrated as to justify a further expenditure:" and he calculated that a loan of \$500,000 would cover the charges of introducing 5,555 adults, or (say) about 6,500 men, women and children."

Action of West India Committee. Governor Longden laid these proposals before Lord Carnarvon in the despatch of the 18th November, 1876, above quoted: and in letters dated the 29th January and the 24th March, 1877, the West India Committee approached the Colonial Office with the suggestion

that, either the Government of British Guiana should undertake the introduction of free Chinese immigrants recovering the cost from the immigrants, or Chinese firms should be invited to undertake the business.

Lord Carnarvon gives no encouragement.

Lord Carnarvon replied on the 1st June, 1877, that, as three-fifths of the estates, including some of the largest and best managed plantations in British Guiana, appeared either not to desire, or to be indifferent to, Chinese immigration, "it would not be right to impose upon them, or upon the general revenue, any part of the cost of such an immigration." If free passages were to be provided for free Chinese immigrants, it must be at the charge of those who desired to introduce them; and it would be for them to consider whether such a burden should be incurred, without any security, for the continuous services of the immigrants. Lord Carnarvon added that he could not approve of any scheme of Chinese immigration, which did not embrace the introduction of a sufficient proportion of females, not less probably than was required in the Indian immigration. In previous Chinese emigration to the West Indies, half that number of females was obtained with difficulty, and there was no satisfactory evidence that a larger number could be obtained in future, nor was it contemplated that women could be obtained without a bonus, which would add considerably to the expense.

The same objection, which existed to the introduction of free Chinese immigrants into British Guiana at the public expense, applied also, in Lord Carnarvon's opinion, to the proposal that the

Colonial Government should incur the first cost and recover it from the immigrants. Experience led him to the conclusion that any plan, whereby the Crown became the creditor of a mass of small debtors, carried within itself the seeds of constant irritation, discontent, and ultimate loss and failure: nor was he aware of any plan of the kind, by whomsoever or wheresoever tried, which had not sooner or later been abandoned as impracticable, and he saw no grounds for supposing that the experiment tried with Chinese in British Guiana would prove an exception to the general rule. It was true that in the emigration from China to the Straits Settlements and to California some emigrants paid their own passages, and some were introduced by Chinese agents, who recouped themselves from the emigrants and their friends or employers: but the latter system had not been free from grave abuses, which it was difficult to detect or prevent, while both the emigrant paying his own passage and the Chinese firms embarking in such business would naturally take into consideration the cost of the passage and the wages offered at the place of destination. The cost of the passage to the Straits Settlements was only \$6 to \$8, and to San Francisco it was from \$25 to \$30. The cost of the passage to Georgetown would probably be three times what it was to San Francisco, whilst higher wages were to be earned by Chinese in California than in British Guiana. Moreover, the emigration to the Straits Settlements and California had been an almost entirely male emigration, and the indispensable female element in the proposed emigration to British Guiana would necessarily add to the difficulties of the problem.

**Combined
Court
offers
bounty on
Chinese
immi-
grants.**

Lord Carnarvon, therefore, gave no encouragement to the project : but before his despatch reached Georgetown, the Combined Court* had on the 15th June, 1877, resolved that it was expedient to offer "a bounty of "\$60 *per caput* on Chinese immigrants arriving in the Colony, not under indenture." The want of labour in British Guiana was becoming every day more felt : and by the latest accounts the prospects of adequately, or even imperfectly, supplying it from India were becoming remote. On the other hand, the Chinese in San Francisco and Peru were themselves apparently beginning to turn their attention towards British Guiana, for very recently a Chinese merchant, connected with houses in San Francisco and Lima, had arrived in Georgetown and opened an establishment for the sale of Chinese goods.

**West India
Committee
again
approach
Lord Car-
narvon.**

Meanwhile the West India Committee, on being apprised of Lord Carnarvon's views, wrote to the Colonial Office on the 25th June, 1877, pointing out that the difficulties in the way of obtaining labourers from India were increasing "owing in a great measure to the competition of agents for the French Colonies, who could afford to pay extravagant rates in India because of the absence of all control by the British Government over the treatment and condition of the emigrants" : that the year was one in which labour was in great demand in British Guiana ; and that, therefore, any delay in establishing an unindentured Chinese immigration would prove a serious obstacle to the progress of the Colony. The Committee explained that it was "interested, or represented an

“ interest, in the great majority of the estates in
 “ British Guiana,” and that it was “ quite satisfied
 “ as to the general feeling of the Colony in favour
 “ of the resumption of Chinese immigration.”

**Further
 replies to
 circular
 issued by
 Govern-
 ment of
 British
 Guiana.**

In point of fact, another forty-eight replies to Governor Longden's circular were forwarded to his successor, Governor C. H. Kortright, by the Secretary of the British Guiana Planters' Association on the 12th September, 1877, increasing the demand for Chinese immigrants from 2,550 to 5,550 male adults. Thus out of 113 sugar plantations no less than 96 eventually made applications for unindentured Chinese labour. The West India Committee further urged that the revenue of the Colony would benefit from an increased population settling upon the waste lands, and argued that the difficulty in obtaining female emigrants, experienced under the old contract system, would not apply to the new proposals, “ one main feature “ of which would be after a time the emigration of “ families,” while the Chinese were “ not indisposed “ to marry women belonging to other races in the “ West Indies.” In a subsequent letter dated the 10th August, 1877, the Committee drew attention to the recent resolution of the Combined Court, and anxiously inquired whether the Secretary of State had approved this offer of a bounty, and, if only for a limited number of immigrants, what number had been fixed.

**Lord Car-
 narvon's
 consent.**

Lord Carnarvon, in a reply dated the 29th September, 1877, referred to the stipulation that the number of Indian immigrants, one-third of the cost of whose introduction was to be paid from

the general revenue of British Guiana, should not exceed 6,000 *per annum* : and expressed his willingness that whenever the number of Indian immigrants obtained in any year was less than 6,000, the planters should be allowed to introduce on the same terms, in the same or the following year, a number of Chinese immigrants equal to the difference. His Lordship was also willing that it should be left to the planters to make their own arrangements for recruiting in China and for the conveyance of the emigrants to British Guiana. The arrangements for the voyage would be subject to the Chinese Passengers Ordinance, as modified by Hong Kong legislation, and would be under the supervision of the Emigration Officer at Hong Kong, or of the British Consuls at the Chinese treaty-ports. Lord Carnarvon saw no objection to the bounty system contemplated in the resolution of the Combined Court, provided that the amount of bounty did not exceed one-third of the cost of introduction : and he was prepared so far to relax the requirement respecting female immigrants that he would not insist upon the full proportion of forty women to each one hundred men. Every effort, however, must be made to secure as many women as possible, and the proportion in future years would be determined when the results of this first experiment had been ascertained. Finally* Lord Carnarvon expressed a doubt whether the improvement in the sugar market, which had led to the increased demand for labour, could be relied upon as likely to be of long continuance.

* Despatch, dated 15th December, 1877.

**Arrange-
ments
made by
the
Planters.**

As soon as the decision of the Secretary of State was made known, a number of proprietors of estates, believing the time and circumstances to be exceedingly opportune, agreed to pay the cost of a shipload of Chinese emigrants to be despatched to British Guiana in the season 1878-9. The cost of each emigrant was estimated at £24, of which it was possible that a portion would be recovered from the emigrant after his arrival, while it was hoped that, when the new system was once established, emigrants would repay the cost of their passage. Accordingly the West India Committee approached Sir Michael Hicks Beach on the 18th May, 1878, with the request that the bounty upon the introduction of Chinese immigrants into British Guiana should be fixed at \$40 a head, being the nearest round number in dollars equivalent to £8, or one-third of the total cost of each emigrant : this bounty to be paid entirely out of general revenue. "The immigrant," wrote Mr. N. Lubbock on behalf of the Committee, "will be perfectly free to work for whom, and at what occupation, he pleases : there will be no expenses of special Government organization to see that he is properly treated : the revenue will not be called upon to pay part of the expense of his return passage : he will be a permanent colonist, and he will very soon after his arrival as a tax-paying member of the community recoup the general revenue for any expense it may incur." It was, of course, stipulated that the bounty should be given for women as well as for men : and the Committee asked that, as the proposed ship would be purely an experiment, it might not affect in any way the number of East Indians to be obtained during the season. Sir Michael replied on the

30th May, 1878, that he would not object to the introduction, in one ship of five hundred Chinese emigrants next season, as an experiment, without a corresponding reduction in the number of Indian immigrants ; but that he had been given to understand that of the estimated cost of introduction, namely, £24 *per caput*, £8 would be for advances recoverable from the emigrants, in which case he would not be able to sanction a larger bounty than one-third of £16. To this the West India Committee assented : and on the 30th May, 1878, Sir Michael gave telegraphic permission to Governor Kortright to propose to the Combined Court a bounty of £5. 6s. 8d. *per caput* on five hundred Chinese immigrants to be introduced into British Guiana during the season 1878-9.

**Resolution of
Court of
Policy.**

Accordingly, the Attorney General (Mr. Haynes Smith), having referred to the resolution of the Combined Court of the 15th June, 1877, moved in Court of Policy on the 8th July, 1878, as follows :—“ *Resolved*—“ That His “ Excellency the Governor be respectfully “ requested to issue his proclamation, naming “ China as a place from which immigration on “ bounty of five hundred immigrants shall be “ permitted, and fixing the rate of bounty at “ \$25.60, and declaring the number of weeks “ necessary for the voyage of any ship from China “ to this Colony to be eighteen weeks.” Mr. R. P. Drysdale seconded, and the motion was unanimously adopted.

**Com-
parison of
bounties
offered in
1852 and
1878.**

It is interesting to observe that, as the first shipment of immigrants from China was organised, in 1852, by the private enterprise of Mr. G. Booker upon the faith of a bounty offered in a proclamation issued by Governor Barkly, so the last shipment of Chinese immigrants, in 1878, was a private venture of the West India Committee under guarantee of a proclamation issued by Governor Kortright. But, whereas the first venture, in spite of the fact that the bounty offered was \$100 a head, proved "a most disastrous one to all concerned:" this last shipment, although the bounty was only \$25.60 a head, was (as we shall see) a satisfactory speculation.

**Arrange-
ments for
distri-
bution of
Chinese
immi-
grants.**

All preliminary arrangements having thus been made, the members of the British Guiana Planters' Association resolved at a meeting held in Georgetown on the 18th July, 1878, "that, in view of the necessity for "providing the requisite accommo-
"dation for the five hundred Chinese expected to
"arrive here in December next, the Government
"be respectfully requested to select ten estates
"from the list under consideration, on which
"allotments of not less than fifty each may be
"placed, and to favour the Association with the
"names of the estates so selected." The "list
"under consideration" set out the names of thirty-
one proprietors of estates, who had jointly sub-
scribed a total sum of £8,647. 1s. 8d. towards the
cost of the proposed Chinese immigration, the
largest subscribers being the Colonial Company,
Limited (£1,450. 4s. 2d.), Mr. Quintin Hogg (£1,039
7s. 6d.) and Messrs. McConnell and Company

(£886. 9s. 2d.). In forwarding this resolution to the Government Secretary next day, Mr. R. J. Kelly, the Chairman of the Association, wrote that it was the wish of the Association, acting for the West India Committee in London, that the reception and allotment of these Chinese should be left in the hands of the Government. Accordingly, after consulting Mr. Crosby, the Immigration Agent General, as to the accommodation on the estates of the thirty-one proprietors, Governor Kortright selected two estates apiece, belonging to the three largest subscribers,—namely, Windsor Forest and Albion of the Colonial Company, Bel Air and Bath of Mr. Quintin Hogg, La Bonne Intention and Tuschen de Vrienden of Messrs. McConnell and Company,—allotting fifty Chinese to each estate, while the remaining four batches of fifty Chinese were assigned to Mr. E. G. Barr's Plantation Maryville, to G. H. Loxdale's Plantation Great Diamond, to Messrs. James Ewing and Company's Plantation Vryheid's Lust, and to Sir James McGarrel Hogg's Plantation Golden Fleece. The Governor's decision on this matter was communicated to the Planters' Association on the 16th August, 1878.

Meanwhile, the Chinese Immigration Sub-Committee of the West India Committee had made the necessary arrangements for collecting the emigrants in China, and on Christmas Day, 1878, the *Dartmouth* was despatched from Hong Kong with 437 men, 47 women, 18 boys, 5 girls and 9 infants, a total of 516 souls. She reached Georgetown on the 17th March, 1879, after a successful voyage of 81 days, during which the only death was that of one man, and disembarked 515 souls equivalent to

**Despatch
of the
Dartmouth
from
Hongkong.**

494½ statute adults. Thus the mortality on the voyage was 0.19%, while neglecting the infants whose sex is not given, the percentage of females landed from the ship was 11.4%. These immigrants had been collected by Messrs. Turner and Company,* a firm of Hongkong merchants, who issued for that purpose a prospectus of which copies reached the Colony. This document was not an agreement or contract of service signed individually by the Chinese immigrants, or by any of them on behalf of themselves and others, but it was rather in the form of a declaration of the advantages to which they would be entitled by the supervision of the Government when working on estates. It appears to have been approved by Mr. Pope Hennessy, then Governor of Hongkong.

**Arrival
and allot-
ment of the
Chinese
immigrants.**

Mr. Crosby, the Immigration Agent General, reported the newly arrived immigrants, of whom sixty or seventy were Christians, to be a "fine, strong, healthy, robust body of people," and to have behaved in an orderly and creditable manner throughout the voyage. When, however, a few were directed by the doctor to be sent to the Colonial Hospital on account of slight indisposition, the other Chinese would not allow them to disembark for that purpose: and next day some of the Chinese immigrants by the *Corona*, whose terms of five years' service had expired as recently as the 2nd March, 1879, went off in boats alongside the *Dartmouth*

*It will be remembered that Messrs. Turner and Company had acted as the agents of Messrs. Hyde, Hodge and Company, both in Hongkong and Canton, in connection with the despatch of the *Glentanner* and the *Samuel Boddington* in 1852.

and advised the new-comers to have an agreement before they landed. In spite of this, the Christian Chinese immigrants were anxious to land at once and proceed to the estates, to which they were allotted : but the others became excited and would not allow them to land, declaring that, if they attempted to do so, they would murder them. Mr. Crosby then requested the headmen among the immigrants, and some others to come ashore, and found that they had signed notes of hand in China to repay their passage money (\$45) at the rate of \$2.50 a month for 18 months, and that they wished an agreement to secure work as the means of repaying this amount. On the following day, the 19th March, 1879, about thirty of them came on shore, and Mr. Crosby had a long conversation with them, telling them there could be no objection to their having such an agreement, but that they might rely on him as to its being unnecessary, and suggesting that they should go about, make inquiries among their countrymen, and ask for information and advice. He also made arrangements for them to go by the railway to any of the estates on the East Coast to see their countrymen and judge for themselves. They did so, and in consequence appeared better satisfied and abandoned their wish for an agreement. Mr. Crosby then told them that they had better go to the estates, to which they had been assigned, where they would receive every care and kindness ; that, if they had any grievance, there was an Immigration Agent in each district, to whom they could complain ; and that, if at any time they came to him, they would have protection. He added, that the *Dartmouth* had performed her voyage and could not support them more than a few days longer ; then they must be landed ; and, if they did not go to the estates, they would have

to provide their own food and lodging. As a result the sick were sent to hospital, while the Christians and many others landed on the 20th March ; and on the next day all the Chinese had quitted the *Dartmouth* in good spirits, and apparently well satisfied. They were allotted to ten estates : but, for reasons which are not given, Plantations Lusignan, Schoonord, Hampton Court, and Anna Regina were substituted for Plantations Albion, Bel Air, Bath and Tuschen in the original list of allotment. They were supplied with food *gratis* on each estate for a fortnight and cheerfully turned out to work : while, upon Mr. Crosby's certificate, a bonus of £2,637. 6s. 8d. was duly paid to Mr. Ferris Grant, the representative of the Chinese Immigration Sub-committee of the West India Committee.

**Result of
the experi-
ment.**

This experiment in immigration without contract excited considerable interest in the Colony and was carefully watched by the Immigration Agent General, who reported on the 20th December, 1879, that there were then still one hundred and eight men from among the *Dartmouth* immigrants remaining on nine* out of the ten estates to which they had been originally allotted ; that these men were for the most part working steadily for seven hours a day in the field, were in a healthy condition, well-housed, and apparently happy and contented ; and that they gave general satisfaction to their employers. None of the Chinese immigrants by the *Dartmouth* had left the Colony, and those who were no longer on the

*From the tenth estate, Maryville in Leguan, Mr. Crosby had received no statistics at the date when his report was sent in. On 1st July, 1880 there were still twenty-four of the *Dartmouth* immigrants on this estate.

estates were gaining an industrial livelihood. Mr. Crosby, therefore, thought himself justified in saying that the speculation could not be otherwise considered than "as satisfactory as could well be expected." A report prepared by the Immigration Department in the following year may be tabularized as follows :—

	Allotted on 21st March, 1879.						Remaining on 1st July, 1880.						Percentage remaining on Estate.		
	Headmen.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Totals.	Headmen.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.		Infants.	Totals.
La Bonne Intention	1	47	4	1	—	1	54	1	*	*	*	*	*	1	—
Lusignan	1	47	8	3	—	1	60	—	17	6	—	—	—	23	38%
Vryheid's Lust	1	50	1	—	—	1	52	—	12	6	—	—	—	18	34%
Great Diamond	1	43	10	11	5	3	73	1	36	10	11	4	3	65	89%
Schoon Ord	1	21	4	2	1	—	29	—	11	4	2	1	—	18	62%
Windsor Forest	1	52	3	1	—	—	57	1	32	3	1	—	1	30	66%
Maryville, (Leguan)	1	28	4	2	—	—	35	1	16	4	2	1	—	24	65%
Golden Fleece	1	38	3	2	—	1	45	1	15	3	2	1	—	21	46%
Hampton Court	1	47	4	2	—	2	56	1	2	1	1	—	—	5	8%
Anna Regina	1	47	4	—	—	1	53	1	34	4	—	—	—	39	73%
Totals	10	420	45	24	6	9	514	6	175	41	19	7	—	252	49%

* Information refused.

Thus, when allowance is made for the fact that the manager of La Bonne Intention refused to supply any information on the subject, it will be seen that, after a lapse of rather more than 15 months, about one-half of the Chinese immigrants by the *Dartmouth* were still working on the estates to which they had originally been allotted. The estate which did best in this respect was Plantation Great Diamond, which retained 89%. Out of the forty-three men sent there on the 21st March, 1879, one had died, two had paid \$45 each to the Manager and left the estate, and four had gone to the Chinese settlement at Hopetown, of which more hereafter. All the rest were still on the estate, working well and giving satisfaction to their employer. The women were all alive, and so were the children, with the exception of one girl. Another typical case was Plantation Maryville on Leguan Island, which retained 65%. Here, out of twenty-eight men sent to the estate, one had died, one was sent to the Colonial Hospital, one had gone to the Aroabisce Coast, nine were working at Plantation Henrietta, having been enticed there by the Chinese driver of the estate, while the remaining sixteen were still working on Maryville and giving satisfaction. All the women and children were alive and well, and one girl had been born since allotment. It is a curious fact that the estate which was least successful in retaining the *Dartmouth* immigrants was Plantation Hampton Court, where at the end of fifteen months only 8% of those originally allotted still remained. Mr. A. Taylor, the Immigration Agent of the district, reported on the 25th August, that as a rule the Chinese immigrants had been very well treated on this estate, where there was rarely any lack of Chinese labour, as free Chinese were resident on the estate and were always willing to

work, when their services were required. "They seem attached to the estate," he wrote, "and will not permanently leave it. In fact, they seem to have a preference for this estate." But the *Dartmouth* immigrants assigned to Plantation Hampton Court seem to have been a bad lot. They would not settle down to regular work, were constantly deserting and did not give satisfaction ; while the headman, having no gang left to superintend, was at his own request permitted to engage himself as Clerk in a Chinese shop on the estate.

**End of
Chinese
immigra-
tion.**

These results were not sufficiently remunerative to encourage the planters to persevere in their experiment ; and from that day to this not another Chinese immigrant ship has come to British Guiana.



of the Secretary and Committee of the Church Missionary Society, who after full enquiry satisfied themselves that Wu Tai-kam was a man of undoubted piety, worthy of every assistance, paid his passage to Demerara, and provided him with sufficient funds for his expenses until he arrived there.

He arrives in Georgetown. Wu Tai-kam brought with him a letter of introduction from Colonel Hughes to the Immigration Agent General at Georgetown, where he soon enlisted the sympathy of Governor Hincks, who became an attentive observer of his proceedings and formed a very high estimate of his merits. He succeeded in forming a congregation of Chinese Christians about 120 in number, many of whom came considerable distances to Georgetown every Sunday, submitting to great privations, in order to attend public worship. Wu Tai-kam also visited the various estates within reach of Georgetown, travelling on foot and by night, looking after the Chinese immigrants both in their own houses and in the hospitals, and he rapidly contrived to obtain a very extensive influence over the Chinese population, without support of any kind but such as was given him in voluntary contributions.

Proposes to form Chinese Settlement on Kamuni Creek. Early in 1865, Wu Tai-kam decided to seek the co-operation of the Government in forming a Chinese agricultural settlement on one of the many tributaries of the Demerara river. The legislature of the Colony had already provided ways and means for aiding in the formation of new villages ; and, as the object was one strictly in accordance with

the law, Governor Hincks encouraged Wu Tai-kam to apply for aid. Accordingly Wu Tai-kam presented a formal petition to the Governor, in which he wrote that he had come to the conclusion "that a certain tract on the Kamuni Creek in the County of Demerara, lying at the back of Plantation Hermansteyne, and bounded on the north by the Waratilla creek and Plantation "Glasgow," was most suitable for a Chinese settlement, as it had the combined advantages of fertility, abundant water communication, natural drainage and proximity to a market, while there was "high land in the immediate neighbourhood "for the benefit of sickness." He added that no part of the land mentioned was either inhabited or cultivated, and that the larger part of it was in the immediate possession of the Crown, the rest being held by licensees, whose tenure depended on the Queen's pleasure. He, therefore, prayed that the Governor would grant to trustees or otherwise, for the purpose of a Chinese settlement, a tract of land at the back of Plantation Hermansteyne on both sides of the Kamuni creek, and also a small sum of money for "the purchase "of axes, saws, boats and other necessities "besides provisions for five months," at the end of which time the petitioner believed that the settlement would begin to be self-supporting and would shortly afterwards become so entirely.

Resolutions of Court of Policy.

Governor Hincks laid this petition before the Court of Policy on the 30th January, 1865 : and on 9th February, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the

Court :

"(1) That in the opinion of this Court it is
"expedient to establish a village of Chinese

“ Christians on a suitable tract of Crown land
 “ up the Demerara river or one of the tributary
 “ creeks thereof, to be hereafter defined by
 “ survey :

“ (2) That, in order to carry out this object, it
 “ is desirable that the village be entitled to parti-
 “ cipate in the village loan :

“ (3) That His Excellency the Governor be
 “ requested to instruct the Attorney General to
 “ prepare the necessary Ordinance, and in the
 “ meantime to appoint a Committee to superin-
 “ tend the arrangements for establishing the
 “ village and to receive and appropriate in behalf
 “ thereof an advance not exceeding \$1,500 from
 “ the village loan, it being conditioned that such
 “ advance shall be a first charge on the
 “ settlement, and that due provision shall be
 “ made for securing its repayment with interest.”

When these resolutions were first proposed on the 30th January, 1865, there was some hesitation about supporting them on the part of three out of the five Elective Members of the Court, on the ground that the effect of the new settlement would be to draw the Chinese away from the sugar estates. This opposition, however, was only manifested by a request that the consideration of the resolutions should be postponed for a few days. To this Governor Hincks at once agreed : and in the interval public opinion was so strongly manifested in support of the scheme that all opposition was withdrawn, when the matter next came up for decision.

Wu Tai-kam thereupon proceeded
 Settlement at once to Kamuni creek taking
 founded. with him twelve Chinese. The
 distance from Georgetown was
 about thirty miles. Four comfortable huts were

erected and some land cleared, for Wu Tai-kam had no doubt of being able to cultivate rice on a very extensive scale. As a provisional Committee Governor Hincks appointed the Government Secretary, the Auditor General, the senior Elective Member of the Court of Policy, the Stipendiary Magistrate for the Demerara River, and Wu Tai-kam himself. The Governor's idea was to vest the land in these persons as trustees ; and it was anticipated that the settlers would for some time be tenants, but would ultimately acquire the land in freehold at prices to be fixed. The price of the land would be devoted to the erection of public buildings such as the Chinese settlement would require, a church, a school, a hospital, etc. Subject, however, to general supervision by the Government, it was intended that Wu Tai-kam should be allowed to carry out his own plans with as little interference as possible, for, apart from his training as a revenue surveyor, he already had practical experience in the settlement of Chinese.

**Sir J. Hope
visits the
Settlement
which is
named
after him.**

A few days latter, on the 15th February, 1865, Vice-Admiral Sir James Hope arrived off Georgetown in his flagship, the *Duncan*. Then, as now, a visit to Demerara by the flagship of the Admiral commanding His Majesty's ships in the West Indies was a very rare occurrence. Accordingly, entertainments of all kinds were held in honour of the event: and one of these entertainments took the form of an excursion to the proposed site of the Chinese settlement on the Kamuni creek. Amongst the party, which left town at 8.30 a.m. in the s.s. *Berbice*, were the Governor, the Admiral, Lieut.-Colonel Ready (Commandant of

the Local Forces), Mr. J. Lucie Smith (Attorney General); Messrs. L. Porter. H. Clementson, H. S. Bascom and A. Duff (Elective Members of the Court of Policy), Mr. H. Sproston, several naval and military officers and a number of ladies. The crew of the Admiral's barge also accompanied the party, as well as the Militia Band, which under the direction of Lieutenant Ahrens is said to have "performed several select pieces with their usual skill." After a pleasant sail up the Demerara river, the *Berbice* anchored off the mouth of the Kamuni creek at 11 a.m., when the party sat down to breakfast. Subsequently, they proceeded in small boats up the creek, and in an hour and a half reached the site proposed for the new village. Here the visitors were received by Wu Tai-kam who explain his plans to them. The future settlement was, after a short speech by Governor Hincks, unanimously named Hopetown in honour of Admiral Hope, whose distinguished service in China, as well as the "very important countenance and help," which, as already related, he had in 1859 given to Mr. J. G. Austin's efforts to organize emigration from China to British Guiana, rendered the association of his name with this Chinese settlement in Demerara singularly appropriate. After a stay of an hour the party left for the steamer and took luncheon at the mouth of the creek. They then weighed anchor and reached town at about 7 p.m.

The Hopetown settlement prospered. By December, 1865, about 170 persons had settled there, all actively employed in occupations of various kinds. These settlers were selected from among an unusually fine set of Chinese immigrants,

who had come together to Demerara in one ship in 1860, and who were indentured originally to Plantation Skeldon. They were mostly Christian converts. A store was opened at Hopetown and a shop in Georgetown, at the former of which all kinds of supplies required by the settlers could be obtained, while at the latter, charcoal, shingles, and the various products of the industry of the settlers were sold. It was at this time confidently anticipated that in a few months the debt to the Government, which was about £600, and which was represented by boats, punts, houses, tools, charcoal, shingles etc., would be entirely paid off: and Governor Hincks reported to the Colonial Office on the 18th December, 1865, that the project, although less than a year had elapsed since its inception, was "an acknowledged success."

**Plans of
Wu Tai-
Kam,**

A few days previously Wu Tai-kam had sought and obtained an interview with the Governor, in order to ascertain what extent of co-operation the Government would afford to the Hopetown settlers in carrying out a system of Chinese immigration similar to that at Singapore, under which the employer paid the cost of introduction getting the services of the immigrant for a fixed period without any wages other than food and clothing, the amount of which was regulated either by law or custom. What Wu Tai-kam desired was that the immigrants for his settlement should serve for two years without payment, the employers furnishing their food and clothing according to a prescribed scale, which would form part of an agreement duly authenticated in China. The employers would pay the entire cost of introducing the immi-

grants, and Wu Tai-kam estimated the value of the labour at \$4 to \$5 a month, or £20 to £25 in two years. Thus, looking at the subject from a pecuniary point of view alone, the Colony could not suffer at all, if the security for the repayment of its advances were adequate. Accordingly Wu Tai-kam proposed to send two Chinese delegates to collect immigrants in China and to introduce at once the complement of an entire ship, or from 250 to 300 souls. This would require an advance of £6,000, which could only be obtained from the funds of the Colony.

Views of Governor Hincks. Governor Hincks naturally was not prepared to ask the sanction of the Combined Court for so extensive an operation, but proposed that the number to be sent for, in the first instance, should be 50 or 60, and that they should come in one of the ships to be dispatched by Mr. Sampson. He felt, however, considerable difficulty as to the mode of paying for the delegates. If they were to assist Mr. Sampson in procuring immigrants for the sugar estates, they could be paid for out of emigration funds. But, unless they did this, there would be no justification for charging that fund with their expenses. Under the circumstances, the Governor proposed to charge their expenses against the Hopetown funds or the emigration funds according to Mr. Sampson's report as to whether or not they assisted him in the ordinary emigration.

There was the further risk that emigrants put on board under such different conditions, some for the sugar estates and some for the Hopetown settlement, would work upon each other during the voyage, and that discontent on the one part or the other might be the result. If the Hopetown

emigrants should prefer the terms on which their fellow countrymen were engaged for the planters, the Colony would suffer no loss : but, if the contrary, the planters might find their immigrants less willing and effective than they had expected. Governor Hincks, however, anticipated that immigrants might thereafter be introduced for the planters on the same terms as for the Hopetown settlement : and, in submitting the scheme to Mr. Edward Cardwell, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, he pointed out that, although Hopetown in less than a year had got about one hundred and seventy settlers, nevertheless at the last half-yearly visit of the Immigration Agents about seven hundred free Chinese voluntarily took bounty from the sugar estates and entered into fresh indentures of service. "We have acted wisely," he wrote, "in affording the Chinamen, who do not like estates' labour, an opportunity of employing themselves in other ways, which will, I trust, effectually prevent future discontent. The labourer who is dissatisfied will feel that after all his term of service is a short probationary period, at the end of which he can by going to Hopetown engage in almost any pursuit that he is capable of following. That Hopetown will be a great colony, if Wu Tai-kam's life and health be spared, I have no doubt. I am, however, convinced that it will not be injurious to the sugar estates. If my proposal should be adopted, I believe that in another year one hundred to one hundred and fifty might be introduced, and that thereafter full shiploads might be taken up specially for Hopetown. Of course, several months must elapse before the delegates could be sent ; but I should hope that they might be in time for the operations of 1866-67."

Opinion of Emigration Commissioners. Mr. Cardwell referred the scheme to the Emigration Commissioners, on whose behalf Mr. Murdoch replied on the 30th January, 1865, that the object to be attained might be "of such vast importance to British Guiana," and the prospect seemed so hopeful, "that it would be much to be regretted that it should not have a trial," adding that a copy of the Governor's despatch would be sent to Mr. Sampson with instructions to afford all the countenance and assistance in his power to the delegates, when they arrived, and meanwhile to offer any observations on the scheme which his local experience might suggest. Mr. Murdoch further observed that under any circumstances the return of the delegates to China to "engage emigrants for "their countrymen settled in British Guiana would be the most convincing evidence "of the prosperity to be attained by emigration. "It would supply the want, so constantly insisted "on by Mr. Sampson in his recent letters, of visible "proof of the success of emigrants in the British "West Indies. Regarded in this light alone," he concluded, "the experiment is well worth trying."

Report of Mr. Sampson. Mr. Cardwell accepted this view and informed Governor Hincks, in a despatch dated the 8th February, 1866, that he saw no objection to the Court of Policy and Combined Court being invited to pass a vote for commencing the experiment suggested by Wu Tai-kam. Governor Hincks, however, left the Colony on the 29th May, 1866, on leave of absence without taking further steps in the matter. Meanwhile, on the 10th April, 1866, Mr. Sampson reported that he considered the scheme "as "deserving every encouragement and support," and he fully concurred in the opinion expressed by

Mr. Murdoch. But, owing to the conduct of Wu Tai-kam himself, the whole scheme fell through.

Wu Tai-Kam It appears that in 1863, a vote
appointed was included in the yearly esti-
Missionary. mates of the colony for a mission-
 ary whose labours were to be devoted to the Chinese
 immigrants; and this item was retained in the
 Estimates for the years 1864 and 1865, and was
 only removed from the Estimates of 1866, because
 all hope of procuring a suitable person had been
 abandoned. The Bishop of Guiana now recom-
 mended the appointment of Wu Tai-kam to this
 post; and, with the unanimous approval of the
 Court of Policy, who undertook to support the
 necessary vote in the next Combined Court, Wu
 Tai-kam was appointed as from the 1st August,
 1866, at a salary of £300 *per annum*.

He is dis- So much prosperity seems to have
graced and had a deteriorating effect on the
absconds. man's character. Charges of immor-
 ality were made against him. A col-
 oured woman in Georgetown had, it appears,
 contracted an intimacy with him and become
enceinte by him. Wu Tai-kam felt unable to
 encounter the shame of the exposure, more
 especially in view of his position as a missionary.
 He absconded from Demerara during the first
 week in July, 1867, taking with him the boat
 belonging to the Hopetown settlement, and per-
 suading three other Chinese to accompany him.
 Soon afterwards a report reached Georgetown that
 a robbery had been committed on the Aroabisce
 Coast, and it was ascertained from circumstantial
 evidence that the Chinese accompanying Wu Tai-
 kam had been concerned in the affair. The party
 then escaped in their boat by the Moruka River

and the inland waterways among the creeks towards the Orinoco, their object being, no doubt, to reach Trinidad.

Thus Wu Tai-kam disappears from this narrative ; but, in spite of his flight, the settlement, which he had founded, continued to eke out a precarious existence.

**Report of
Commission-
ers in Decem-
ber 1870.**

It was visited in December, 1870, by Mr. W. E. Frere, Sir George Young and Mr. C. Mitchell, the the Commissioners appointed in that year to enquire into the treatment of immigrants in British Guiana. They reported as follows:—"The land, except on the
"very edge of the stream, was next to useless, for
"want of a regular system of drainage ; and the
"wood further back appeared to be a swamp.
"The Chinese have built a number of houses
"along the bank of the creek. These houses
"are covered with thatch and enclosed with
"palm bands : the chinks between the bands
"have not been filled up, and the Chinese do not
"seem to care whether they are so or not. In other
"respects, the houses appear comfortable enough.
"They are much more roomy than the huts on the
"estates ; and the older families appear to take in
"as lodgers the young men, who from time to time
"find their way thither from the plantations. One
"large thatched house serves for a school and
"chapel : small patches of potatoes, rice and gin-
"ger are planted near the banks of the creek,
"where the land is sufficiently dry to allow their
"growth. There was a schoolmaster there, when
"we visited the place : but the education of the
"the children did not seem to be conducted on
"any regular system. There were half a dozen
"very intelligent boys, who could read and write

" a little. Besides the provision grounds already
 " mentioned on the left bank of the creek, there
 " were several acres of rice on land from which the
 " forest trees had been lately cleared. A stelling and
 " store-house on the banks of the river at George-
 " town have been set apart for the accommoda-
 " tion of the Chinese from the settlement, when
 " they came down to dispose of their charcoal and
 " provisions. They are somewhat too far from
 " Georgetown, and, in consequence, from the sup-
 " port of civilizing associations and rules ; but that
 " of itself would not lead us to despair of the future
 " of Hopetown, if some means could be devised to
 " give them a better chance as cultivators. At
 " all events, valuable experience has been acquir-
 " ed for the next effort that it is deemed right to
 " make in the same direction."

Census of
1871

The original memoranda of the
 census of the Colony taken in the
 following year, 1871, show that
 there were then living at the Hopetown settlement
 311 men, 123 women, and 133 children, total 567 :
 and Mr. E. G. Yewens, Inspector of Villages, who
 paid the settlement a visit at the end of April, 1874,
 reported that there had been a considerable in-
 crease in the numbers since the census, and
 thought that he would not be far wrong in
 putting down the then total " at about 800 includ-
 " ing those settled on the right bank of the
 " Creek, and this more especially when the settlers
 " on both banks of the Creek are taken into con-
 " sideration." " I judge this," he added, " from the
 " great extent of the ground covered by the settle-
 " ment extending miles down the river."

**Report of
Inspector of
of Villages in
May, 1874.** Mr. Yewens, while questioning the wisdom of having selected for the settlement a site which had "undoubtedly many disadvantages," was told by the Chinese that they were quite satisfied with their quarters, and had made money there, and that, if they had not liked the place, they would not have gone there: in fact, he "found everywhere a spirit of contentment and a "state of admitted prosperity." The course the Chinese appeared to follow was this. On taking up a piece of bush land, they first built a coal pit; they then cut down all the hardwood trees and converted them into charcoal, which was shipped to Georgetown; and, when the land had all been cleared, they planted it up. Chinese tania was being extensively cultivated and proved superior to the colonial tania, partaking more of the nature of the buck yam. Rice had also been grown in large quantities; but the settlers told Mr. Yewens that they had abandoned rice cultivation "on account of the severe losses they sustained from birds, which took half the crop at least from them, and because it did not pay. In addition to this they stated that they had a difficulty in drying the rice sufficiently at "all seasons." The principal employment of the settlers, however, continued to be charcoal burning. "The Chinese live well," wrote Mr. Yewens, "and kill twice a week, and every Chinese householder, I believe, keeps one or more pigs, which they feed in pens. I saw none running about, and they are very careful in fattening them, boiling vegetables for their use."

The place in Hopetown vacated by Wu Tai-kam had apparently been filled, since 1871, by a Mr. Knight, who seems to have acted as pastor,

schoolmaster, physician and census officer of the settlement, and to have been very much liked by the Chinese. Mr. Yewens attended divine service at Hopetown on Sunday, the 3rd May, 1874, "and, although the weather was very unfavourable, heavy rain falling as it had done for days before, fifty-five Chinese attended the service, which was conducted in English by Mr. Knight, and in Chinese by the Catechist, and those present were attentive, orderly and devout." No school was held while Mr. Yewens was at the settlement, but he saw some Chinese who had been educated at the school, and they appeared to be "very decent English scholars." He also saw "some work of the scholars which was decidedly satisfactory." The school ought, he thought, to be placed under the supervision of the Inspector of Schools.

The prospects of Hopetown were in Mr. Yewens' opinion, "decidedly most favourable." "No other opinion," he wrote, "can be arrived at after the expressed contentment of the people with the place and their condition there. . . . I was very much surprised to see from Mr. Knight's door the amount of traffic up and down the Creek, punts belonging to Chinese or Portuguese with charcoal, wood, shingles, etc., etc., batteaux and other craft were constantly passing up or down, morning and evening, and altogether the place appeared to me to be decidedly flourishing."

Census of 1891. The census of 1881 makes no mention of the Hopetown settlement, but the census of 1891 gives the following statistics for that year under the heading of farms

Three things are especially noticeable in these figures, namely, (a) the decline of the Chinese population of this neighbourhood by more than a half during the twenty years' period, from 567 souls in the year 1871 to 240 souls in the year 1891 ; (b) the inflow of other races ; and (c) the growth of Plantations Hermitage to Hermansteyne at the expense of the Chinese settlement.

Inflow of Non-Chinese Settlers. Archdeacon Gwyther, in a letter to the Government Secretary dated the 11th February, 1897, drew attention to the second point. There was, he said, hanging up in the church at Hopetown a chart made by Mr. Cathcart Chalmers, sworn land surveyor, dated 1868, which showed the lands belonging to the Chinese as marked out into several lots, and bounded on two sides by the Demerara river and the Kamuni creek.* In spite of this, however, since 1895, "certain black people, whom the Chinese designated as Con- goes, came and settled upon that portion of their lands nearest the creek mouth," and had been, and continued to be, the cause of much dissatisfaction and annoyance.

Inquiry into the titles to Hopetown Settlement. This complaint led the Government to commence an inquiry, which lasted for several years, into the titles to the area comprised in the Hopetown settlement ; and it was ascertained from the old Dutch records that on the 3rd July, 1746, a grant of two thousand acres of land was made to A. A. Mennes at the mouth of the

* Archdeacon Gwyther evidently confused the boundaries of Plantation Hermansteyne with those of the area marked out for the Hopetown settlement by Mr. Chalmers. The latter area did not extend to the Demerara River.

Kamuni creek for a sugar estate, and that on the same day a further grant of three hundred roods façade was also made to him in the Imoeroeny (?Haimaruni) creek for the cultivation of provisions, but on condition that the grant made to him at the mouth of the Kamuni creek should be reduced in the same proportion as the grant made to him in the Imoeroeny creek. Subsequently, on the 3rd January, 1751, the lands formerly granted to Mennes were granted to Simon Cornelis van Bercheyck, who petitioned the Court of Policy, "praying for the usual depth of seven hundred and fifty roods for his estate called Hermansteyne, situate in the River Demerary." The prayer of this petition was granted with the full understanding, however, that the depth already acquired, together with that now granted, should in the whole not exceed 750 roods.

From the fact that, more than a century after this date, Wu Tai-kam chose this site for his Chinese settlement, describing it in his petition, laid before the Court of Policy on the 30th January, 1865, as uninhabited and uncultivated land at the back of Plantation Hermansteyne, the larger part of which was "in the immediate possession of the Crown," it is clear that the successors in title (if any) to S. C. van Bercheyck had not for many years past complied with the proviso of the old Dutch grant* requiring the proprietor "to cultivate properly and plant the aforesaid piece of land with such cultivation as shall be found most advantageous and to have there built a good and substantial house." Moreover, in 1865, the Government evidently believed the area in question to be Crown land; and, in spite of the public interest taken in the

* A specimen form with a translation is given in Appendix G.

inauguration of the Hopetown settlement, no claimant to the land came forward at that time. Subsequently, however, in 1872, a certain D. Vyfhuys, laid claim to Plantation Hermansteyne; but he renounced his claim on the 16th April, 1872, in view of an assurance conveyed to him by the Government Secretary in a letter of the next day's date that the Governor would "be prepared to grant some other portion of Crown and (when selected by Mr. Vyfhuys) as "an equivalent for Plantation Hermansteyne." It appears that Mr. Vyfhuys rested content with this promise and never took any steps to select land elsewhere: neither was any claim to Plantation Hermansteyne made before the Titles to Land Commissioners, who reported in 1892.

**Government
resumes pos-
session of the
land.**

Accordingly, upon the advice of the law officers, all the squatters, other than Chinese, on Plantation Hermansteyne were formally warned by the Crown Surveyor on the 18th August, 1898, that they had no right or title to the land which they were occupying, and that they were liable to be ejected at any moment. A notice was also advertised in the "Official Gazette" on the 14th October, 1899, (page 1018), that it was the intention of the Governor to cancel the grant of Plantation Hermansteyne to S. C. van Bercheyck at the expiration of three months from that date and to resume possession of the land, unless just cause could be shown to the contrary. This notice resulted in a letter, dated the 18th January, 1900, being written by Hermanus van Bercheyck to the Crown Surveyor claiming the land as "grandson of Lawrence "Lodewyk van Bercheyck, brother of S. C. van "Bercheyck." Hermanus van Bercheyck could

not, however, prove his claim ; and, as it had been ascertained that there was no trace of any transport of the property since the original grant, and that there were no official records of births, deaths and marriages earlier than 1840, the claimant was informed by direction of the Governor that, unless he satisfied the Government by the 28th February, 1900, of his title, and that it was not barred by prescription, the grant of the plantation would be cancelled. No further action was taken by the claimant ; and on the 9th June, 1900, a revocation warrant, cancelling the grant made to S. C. van Bercheyck, was signed by the Governor, and the Government resumed possession of the land.

The question of title to Plantation Hermansteyne having thus been settled some thirty-five years after the formation of the Hopetown settlement, Governor Sir J. A. Swettenham on the 17th March, 1903, made to the Rev. Canon P. A. Stevenson, rural dean of Demerara, and to Esau Tang* and Andrew Ch'an Sam, † wardens of the Chinese church at Hopetown, and to their successors in the offices of rural dean and warden, in trust for such of the Chinese immigrants as were then occupying the Chinese settlement at Hopetown and such other Chinese as might settle therein and their descendants, a free grant of 915 acres within the limit of the plantation. But, in order to understand the exact nature of this grant, it is necessary to turn back and note what had occurred during the six years' discussion as to the title to the land.

* 鄧

† 陳 三

**Defective
drainage
of settle-
ment.**

The total area of Plantation Hermansteyne as shown in the map facing this page is 1,500 acres. The plantation is of irregular shape, being bounded on one side by the winding left bank of the Kamuni Creek, on another side by the left bank of the Demerara River, which here runs in a straight line, and on the two remaining sides by straight lines converging at a right angle from the left banks of the Kamuni Creek and the Demerara River. The twenty-eight lots, originally laid out as the Hopetown settlement by Mr. Chalmers in 1868, were situated along the bank of the Kamuni Creek in the southernmost corner of Plantation Hermansteyne. As the settlement grew it extended down the left bank—and indeed the right bank also—of the creek, thus forming an encroachment beyond the boundary of Plantation Hermansteyne. It appears also, from Mr. Yewens' account, to have extended in 1874, for miles down the Demerara River. Then, however, came bad times. The site for the settlement was ill-chosen. The undrained lower lands of the Kamuni were perfect swamps during the wet weather ; and the soil of Hopetown, from the want of a system of drainage, was not very fruitful. Yet, in spite of these drawbacks, the Chinese made dams, dug drains to carry off the water in heavy wet seasons ; and, so long as the timber lasted, they did well, shipping their charcoal to Georgetown, and even to Barbados. But, when the wood failed, their main occupation was gone : and gradually the settlers began to migrate to other parts of the Colony, where many a thriving shop testifies to their activity. No doubt, the flat nature of the country, through which the narrow Kamuni Creek winds, was the main cause of

the flooding ; but the formation of the Boerasirie and Canals Polder schemes, which became capable of conserving water in the year 1888, diverted to the original drainage system of Hopetown the waters of a larger area than it was capable of dealing with, while the trouble of swamping was further increased by the Hubabu Creek lock, which was not always opened during heavy rains. Consequently, the settlers were much impoverished and driven to seek their livelihood elsewhere.

**Visit of
Mr. Fowler
to settle-
ment.**

On the 31st July, 1900, Mr. F. Fowler of the Government Land Department, visited Hopetown and walked through the settlement from the end farthest up the creek. He reported that the land was on the whole consecutively occupied, but that there were several large spaces—formerly occupied, but then abandoned—in between the houses and grown up in bush and weeds. His inspection of the back lands under cultivation showed that the settlers had cleared the bush to distances varying from 150 to 250 roods, the land being cultivated in a more or less spasmodic manner and being at the time of his visit practically under water. Attempts at drainage had been made by digging from aback small trenches, three to four feet wide, which wended their way in a circuitous manner to the creek. These were quite inadequate for the purpose ; and moreover, as there was no koker at the junction from the creek, the creek-water flowed back into the trenches at high tide. Attempts had also been made at empoldering the land, so as to keep out the bush-water : but the small, ill-made dams thrown up were almost useless. The cultivation consisted principally of eddoes, cassava, and

sweet potatoes, with small patches of cocoa, coffee and rice, which did not look very flourishing, there being evidently too much water on the land. The soil, Mr. Fowler said, appeared rich, and, whenever the land was high enough to keep dry, the cultivation was healthy.

Population of Settlement in 1901, No census of the Colony was taken in 1901, but Canon P. A. Stevenson, writing on the 13th August, 1901, stated that the residents at Hope-town, who, in 1891, had numbered 240 souls, were then only 198, "the dregs of the former population." "The youth and manhood of the place are gone," he said, "leaving only the only and infirm—five of whom are in receipt of Poor Law relief."

Proposal to empolder the Settlement. A proposal to vivify this expiring community, was made by Ho A-Shoo,* a wealthy Chinese resident in Georgetown, who suggested to his fellow countrymen that they should all subscribe to have the land properly drained by canals. "A good many heads of families," he "wrote on the 6th April, 1900, "are willing to do so now, but are only waiting to see the question of title to the land settled and the estimated cost of laying the said canals. I am quite prepared (when the title is settled) to bear the expenses of finding out the cost of digging the canals and laying out the land into lots as a start." This offer was made known to the Officer Administering the Government, Mr. A. M. Ashmore, who convened a meeting on the 12th July, 1901, at which were present the Bishop of

* 何受 see chapter XIV *infra*.

Guiana, Mr. F. Fowler and Ho A-shoo. Mr. Fowler explained that nothing could be done to benefit the settlement, unless it was empoldered ; and he thought that about 1,000 acres might be empoldered at a cost of \$10,000. Mr. Ashmore suggested that, when the work was fully done and cultivation made possible, transports for the land should be granted in proportion to the money and labour contributed by each Chinese participating in the scheme. Ultimately, it appeared that \$5,000 in cash and the equivalent of \$5,000 in labour might do the work and earn the grants : and Ho A-shoo undertook to see his countrymen, and try to raise \$5,000.

**Visit of
Mr. Ash-
more to
settlement.**

A few months later, on the 7th September, 1901, Mr. Ashmore with the Bishop of Guiana, Canon Stevenson, the Colonial Civil Engineer and Mr. Fowler, paid a visit to Hopetown—the first visit paid to the settlement by any Administrator since its ceremonial inauguration in 1865. At Hopetown the visitors were met by the settlers and by Ho A-shoo. After seeing something of the village (amid heavy rain), the party went to the Church and there discussed ways and means of helping the settlement. The Colonial Civil Engineer and Mr. Fowler thought that a bank might be erected behind the cultivated lots at a cost of about \$500, which would save them from inundation : and an offer was made to the village of a Government grant of one-half of this sum, if Ho A-shoo would put down the other half. This he agreed to do : and, on the 13th September, 1901, the Combined Court unanimously voted “the sum of \$250 to meet an equivalent sum, as provided by a benevolent Chinese merchant,

“ to construct a dam behind the cultivated lands
“ of the Chinese settlement at Hopetown.”

**Construc-
tion of
dam.**

The construction of this dam, enclosing some 523 acres of land, was completed on the 21st May, 1902, at a total cost of \$642.98. Mr. Barklie of the Central Board of Health, who was in charge of the work, reporting that he had not been able to obtain a single shovelman at the settlement. “The Chinese,” he wrote, “appeared quite indifferent over the whole matter, except to complain that they wanted a very large area of virgin soil taken in, to do which would cost several thousand dollars.” He recommended that the settlement should be declared a Sanitary District, not necessarily for the purposes of taxation, but in order that certain head-men could be appointed, who would have legal authority to insist that the trench outside the dam should be kept clean, as, if it was allowed to become useless, the bush-water would accumulate and cause breaches in the dam.

**Settlement
of Non-
Chinese
squatters
permitted
beyond
empolder-
ed area.**

This dam was of irregular shape; and the lot, which was made over on the 17th March, 1903, as a free grant to the rural dean of Demerara and the wardens of the Chinese Church of Hopetown, in trust for the Chinese settlers, was laid out as a rectangle (but for its southern side based on the Kamuni creek) containing some 915 acres, and including the whole area of 523 acres empoldered by the dam. However, as the result of his visit of inspection, Mr. Ashmore wrote :—“The settlement consists now of nothing but feeble old people, who are gradually dwind-

"ling away, and there is no prospect or possibility of re-inforcing it." He accordingly gave orders that the rest of Plantation Hermansteyne, not included in the free grant to the Chinese settlers, should no longer be considered as reserved for the Chinese, but should be sold to anybody who desired to buy it. Fifteen applications came in at once from squatters on that part of the plantation fronting on the Demerara River, and absolute grants of the lots applied for were made at \$1.00 per acre during the year 1903.

Order-in-Council declaring Hopetown to be a Country Sanitary District made in 1902 ;

Meanwhile, on the 18th August, 1902, the Chinese settlement at Hopetown had been declared a Country Sanitary District, under section 10 of the Public Health Ordinance of 1878, as amended by Ordinance No. 10 of 1902, with the following boundaries :—"On the North, East and West the new dam "empoldering the settlement, and "on the South the Kamuni Creek." But these measures came too late to save the settlement.

And cancelled in 1906.

On the 23rd July, 1906, the Central Board of Health reported that it was no longer necessary to have Hopetown under the authority of the Board : and on the 23rd August, 1906, the Order-in-Council declaring the Chinese settlement to be a Country Sanitary District was duly cancelled.

Census of 1911.

It had become too insignificant to need the special attention of the Board : and in the Census of 1911, the following statistics are given under the head of villages, settlements and

farms on the west bank of the Demerara River :—

	Europeans other than Portuguese.		Portuguese.		Chinese.		Africans.		Blacks.		Mixed Races.		Aborigines.		Totals.		
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	Persons.
The Kamuni creek and its tributaries.	1	2	2	27	28	—	—	—	83	21	114	68	88	76	336	108	535
Hermansteyne ...	—	—	—	10	8	1	—	—	17	13	4	2	—	—	26	40	96

Mr. V.
Roth's
Visit;
1914.

Thus the total Chinese population in Hopetown and its vicinity had, in 1911, dwindled to 37 men and 36 women, a total of 73 souls; and a visit paid to the settlement by Mr. Vincent Roth, the Land Officer of the district, on the 22nd September, 1914, showed that there were then in Hopetown 23 houses only with a total population of 75 souls, of whom twenty-six males and twenty females were of pure Chinese descent, one male and six females were of mixed Chinese and negro race, seven females were of mixed Chinese and mulatto race, and two males were of mixed Chinese and Portuguese race. The remaining fourteen had no Chinese blood in them, two males and five females being negroes, one male and three females being East Indians, and three females being mulattoes. Mr. Roth added from his own personal knowledge of Hopetown extending over a period of six years that "as a Chinese settlement pure and simple, its termination is but a few years hence." He found that a total area of $35\frac{1}{2}$ acres only, out of the 915 acres contained in the settlement, were in cultivation, eleven acres being planted up with cocoa, two acres with ground provisions, fourteen acres with a mixed crop of cocoa and ground provisions, three acres with a mixed crop of cocoa, ground provisions and coffee, $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres with a mixed crop of cocoa and rice, and three acres with a mixed crop of cocoa, ground provisions and rice. The dams surrounding the land had been allowed to fall into disuse, with the exception of that portion extending along the left bank of the Kamuni creek, which was used as a highway; and the system of drainage was natural, there being no kokers or sluices.

**Visit of
Govern-
ment Sec-
retary ;
1914.**

On the morning of Sunday, the 11th October, 1914, a small party, consisting of my wife and myself, accompanied by Mr. R. O. H. Spence, acting Commissioner of Lands and Mines, with Mrs. Spence and Mr.

V. Roth, entered the Kamuni Creek in a motor-boat, having come up the Demerara River for the purpose of visiting Hopetown. The mouth of the Creek is on the left bank of the river almost opposite to the Hyde Park Police Station, which it is hoped may before long be connected by road with Georgetown ; but, although the Kamuni is navigable by small craft for some twenty miles, yet, in the monotonous green foliage clothing the banks of the Demerara, it is difficult to distinguish the opening from the Police Station—or indeed from half-way across the river.

**Descrip-
tion of
Kamuni
Creek.**

On entering the creek we crossed a distinct line, where the clear black bush-water seems reluctant to mingle with the opaque yellow water of the Demerara. The banks, some 20

yards apart, were concealed by the dense vegetation on either side : and one wondered, not only that Wu Tai-kam should have made his way to such a remote spot, but even more that the idea should have occurred to him of founding a settlement in so uninviting a place : for the high trees on both banks shelter an immense mass of tangled undergrowth, which looks equally forbidding to man and beast, though very suggestive of the swarming, stinging insect life, that assuredly abounds within its shade. In the water itself the mokka-mokka plant, a member of the a rum family, forms a barrier along the banks with its thick stems and broad leaves, some of which appear just above

the water-level, whilst others rise to a height of 30 feet or more. Land, when at all visible, is slimy mud. Everywhere broods the heavy silence of the tropical forest, broken now and then by the whir of a beetle or the cry of the rare birds, that sometimes swoop across the stream ; nor is there any colour to vary the monotony of the intense green of the vegetation, almost overarching the creek and beautifully mirrored in its water, save where an occasional orchid or creeper decorates a decaying tree-trunk, with mauve or purple blossoms, or here and there a glorious butterfly flits into the sunshine. Twice we saw an alligator subside into a dark pool on our approach. Strange that this lonely jungle should have had attractions for prospective settlers !

After we had wound our way about one mile up the creek, we found that the water-growth had been cleared away, and that low banks were visible rising some four feet above the stream, but a line of dried mud on the bushes growing on both sides, showed clearly that in wet seasons the land would be quite submerged.

Description of Hopetown.	Behind a screen of foliage we now saw some cleared land and the roofs of houses, whilst here and there were small, rough landing-places. We continued as far as the spot marked "church and burial-ground" on the map. This now is close to the limit of the occupied part of Hopetown, though in years gone by the settlement extended almost another three miles, right up to the Tawarna creek, including the tongue of land enclosed by the sharp bend of the Kamuni. Beyond the "church landing," all has reverted to bush and swamp, but at this point a clearing has been made right down to the water, so that the
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arriving guest may see the quite imposing bell-tower, a skeleton structure of wood, and behind it a nice-looking wooden church. Here we landed and found most of the community assembled to receive us, their church-service being just over. The elders both men and women insisted on shaking hands and were delighted to hear a few words spoken in Cantonese, which all, even the younger ones appeared able to understand and speak. There were Hak-kas and Puntis amongst them, no Hok-los,* but nearly all had been born in the Colony, and the community was by no means a purely Chinese one; blacks, East Indians and half-breeds formed about one-third of it.

We were first conducted to the church, a large roomy building, which could easily seat more than three times the number of people now living in the settlement. An aged Chinese catechist conducts the services, whilst a clergyman visits the place once in two months. The church was clean and in good repair. There were flowers on the altar, and on a small table in the sanctuary were placed a pair of Chinese vases. There were also a few copies of the Testaments and Prayer Book in Cantonese, but we could find no record or registers. Few graves were discernible and those ill kept. We next walked along the dam, which still surrounds the settlement and is built at a distance of a few yards from the creek edge, serving the settlers as their main-road. The houses looked comfortable from the outside; they are built of mud and the stems of the manicole palm, which grows all along the creek. The thatch is of troolie leaves.

* See note on p. 14 *supra*.

The people appeared glad to see us and anxious to show us round. The whole village accompanied us, as we went "aback" of the houses to look at the cultivation, but nowhere was anything satisfactory to be seen ; a few miserable plantains, a few poor cocoa bushes, untended and uncared for, was all we could observe. A paddy-field, to which we were led, was merely a clearing in the bush, the trees having been cut down, but the stumps left standing, and no attempt made to irrigate or drain ; there had been no manuring, nor indeed any sign of tillage. The sight was a sad one to eyes accustomed to the smiling, carefully tended rice-fields of China, with their neatly dammed divisions for conserving water, fields from which the laborious Cantonese, by unceasing toil, reap their annual reward of two rice harvests and one crop of "dry cultivation." The Hometown settlers told us they could only raise a rice crop from a given area once in five years ; but with care the land could, of course, be made much more productive. The settlement possesses no animals ; not even the pig, so universal in China, was to be seen. In fact the people evidently lack the energy to make an effort to improve their condition. Most young Chinese desirous of better things, have doubtless discovered that by going to Georgetown, they can with the thrift, industry and business instincts of their race find more promising opportunities of making a living, by trade or otherwise, than Hometown offers them. Hence only the aged, the feeble or the indolent remain in the Settlement.

**Little hope
for future
success of
Settlement.** Hopetown no longer answers to its name, for little hope of its future now is left. Two villages of Aboriginal Indians—Aritak and Santa, eight and a quarter and nine miles respectively from the mouth of the creek—appear to-day to have better prospects of success.



CHAPTER XIII.

VITAL STATISTICS OF THE CHINESE IMMIGRANT POPULATION.

**A
disastrous
decline.** In the foregoing chapters I have narrated the circumstances in which, between the years 1853 and 1879, there landed in Demerara 14,002 Chinese immigrants, namely, 11,519 men, 2,000 women, 339 boys, 72 girls and 72 infants. Since the year 1879, there has not been any organised attempt to introduce Chinese into the Colony: nevertheless it will be seen from Table II that between the years 1880 and 1913, a total of 1,718 Chinese immigrants, of whom 127 were women and the rest men landed in Georgetown. Thus, during the course of sixty years,—there came to British Guiana 15,720 Chinese immigrants, 13,485 being males and 2,235 females:* while the percentage of females in the total immigration was 14.2%. But the census of 1911, gave the Chinese population of the Colony as 1,481 males and 1,141 females, a total of 2,622 souls. That is to say, the male population has lost almost nine out of every ten and the female population has been reduced by one half, while the percentage of women and girls in the total Chinese population has risen to 43.6%: and it is my object in this chapter to trace the causes of this disastrous decline in the numbers of the Chinese community.

*The sex of the infants is not given. I have, therefore, assumed one-half of them to be males and one-half to be females.

Statistical data. There are only two possible causes which can account for the decrease —emigration and death :’ while

against the loss due to these causes must be set the increases due to births. Now prior to the year 1881, there is no official record of emigration from this Colony, although it is reasonable to suppose that, in the years 1853 to 1880 inclusive, some Chinese at least must have left British Guiana. Indeed there is, in the Census returns, a record of 15 Chinese leaving the Colony between the years 1861 to 1870, and of another 175 who left between the years 1871 and 1881, while emigration statistics from 1881 inclusive onwards are on record in the Registrar General’s Department. The registration of births and deaths only commenced in the year 1869 (Ordinance No. 1 of 1869) ; and Chinese births and deaths for the years prior to 1870 are not recorded in the Registrar General’s Department. Records of deaths of immigrants were, however, kept by the Immigration Agent General, and it is from this source that the figures in Column 13 of Table II. have been taken for the years 1853 to 1869 both inclusive. Between the years 1853 and 1859 inclusive no Chinese females arrived in British Guiana. There could, therefore, have been no children of pure Chinese race born in the Colony. But, between the years 1860 and 1866 inclusive, a large number of Chinese women and girls landed at Georgetown ; and it is natural to suppose that many births took place among the Chinese community during that period. However, no such birth statistics can be found in any record office of this Colony.

**Method
by which
Table II.
has been
compiled.**

Such being the data, the method by which Table II. has been compiled is as follows : For the year 1853 the total Chinese population is given as 811, that being the number of Chinese landed in British Guiana during the year. There were, however, 90 deaths in that year and these being deducted from the total population give the figure 721 as that of the Chinese population on the 1st January, 1854. This process is continued down to the year 1869 inclusive. In the year 1870 births are for the first time included in the table and the figure for the total Chinese population in Column 17 ought, therefore, to have been the difference between the figure 8,669 arrived at by the foregoing method, modified by adding 107 births and subtracting 181 deaths which took place during the year. The commencing total for the year 1871 should, therefore, theoretically have been 8,595. The figure, however, which is actually given for the year 1871, has been taken from the annual report of the Registrar General and is 6,880. Accordingly there is at this point a discrepancy of no less than 1,715, which must be distributed over the previous eighteen years, and can only be accounted for by the unsatisfactory manner in which statistics were kept prior to 1870, by the absence of any record whatsoever of emigration or of births, and by the fact that the death register as kept by the Immigration Department recorded only the deaths of immigrants working on the estates, whether under indenture or not, and took no account at all of the increasingly large number of Chinese who were engaged in other pursuits. From the year 1871 onwards the figures of the Registrar General's Department have been adopted, but even these figures cannot be relied upon

prior to the year 1880 as no record of emigration was kept until 1881. However, from the year 1881 down to the present time the statistics are tolerably accurate, in spite of slight discrepancies between the figures of the Census and those of the Registrar General's Department. These discrepancies are due to the fact that it has been the practice to take the Census of the Colony in April, whereas the figure given in the annual report of the Registrar General is that for the 1st January in each year. The Registrar General accepts the Census figures as correct; but in his annual reports he applies to these figures the births, deaths, emigrations and immigrations which may have occurred between the beginning of the year and the date of the Census, thereby arriving at figures which, although differing slightly from those of the Census, can always be reconciled with the statistics given in Columns 7, 10, 13 and 16 of Table II.

One other point calls for remark. In the four years 1893 to 1896, the Registrar-General calculated the population of the Colony as on the 30th June, whereas in all other years he calculated it as on the 1st January. Therefore, in order to make Table II. uniform, it has been necessary to apply to the Registrar-General's figures for the total population the statistics of births, deaths, emigration and immigration for the first six months of those four years, so that Column 17 may throughout show the Chinese population as on the 1st January.

Original distribution of Chinese immigrants.

There is another class of statistics which demands careful study before the attempt is made to draw any inference from Table II,—I mean the statistics of the original distribution of Chinese immigrants in various districts in British Guiana. The manner in which the Chinese on board each immigrant-ship were originally allotted to the sugar estates is given in detail in Table III. ; but, in order to make the geographical distribution clearer, I have, in Table IV., grouped the 116 plantations, on which Chinese labour was employed, under nine main divisions extending from west to east of the Colony, namely, Essequibo mainland ; Essequibo islands ; west coast, Demerara ; Demerara river ; east coast, Demerara ; west coast, Berbice ; Berbice river ; east coast, Berbice ; and Corentyne river. Table V. then shows in detail the manner in which the Chinese immigrants were, on arrival, distributed into these nine main groups : while Table VI. summarises this distribution in a manner which can be comprehended at a glance. From these statistics it will be seen that by far the largest number of Chinese originally went to the east and west coasts, Demerara, to estates on the Demerara river, and to the Essequibo mainland and islands. Comparatively few were sent to Berbice and the Corentyne.

Little difference in healthiness of Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo.

The attention of Governor Hincks was drawn to the fact that, in 1861, "the mortality among the Chinese was peculiarly great in the county of Essequibo and especially among the islands." He attributed this partly to the late arrival of the ships

from China ; and he accordingly selected that county to receive the first emigrants during 1862, "in the hope that they would be acclimatised before the setting in of the rains."* It is, therefore, interesting to find that Mr. T. W. C. Murdoch, in a letter to the Colonial Office, dated the 16th December, 1867, made the following comment on the report of the Immigration Agent General for the half-year ended 30th June, 1867 :—"Of the three counties into which British Guiana is divided the healthiest is Essequibo, then Berbice, and last Demerara. This has been so invariably the case as to show that it arises from natural and constant causes. The Immigration Agent attributes it to some extent to the deaths in the public hospital in Georgetown ; but, as the patients in the hospital would probably consist principally of the immigrants on estates in Demerara County, the explanation is scarcely sufficient. It seems more likely to arise from the nature of the soil and climate of Demerara as compared with the other counties." However, in the second half of the year, there was a change ; for Mr. Murdoch commenting, in a letter dated the 13th June, 1868, on the Immigration Agent General's report for the half-year ending 31st December, 1867, wrote ;—"The most unhealthy district, contrary to what has been the case in former years, was Berbice, where the mortality was at the rate of 2.37%. The rate in Demerara and Essequibo was the same, namely 1.98%." The order was again changed in the half-year ended 30th June, 1868, for Mr. S. Walcott reported to the Colonial Office in a letter dated the 14th October, 1868, that "the mortality during the six months was, in the

* Despatch, dated 21st May, 1862.

"county of Demerara 1.40, in Berbice 1.17, and "in Essequibo 1.42%." Thus we see that in three successive half-years each of the three counties obtained in turn an unevitable priority in its death-rate : and the only conclusion to be drawn from such data is that Mr. Murdoch was mistaken in thinking that any natural or constant causes differentiated the three counties in respect of their health conditions.

Half the Chinese population in 1879 was no longer on the plantations.

In all 13,256 Chinese immigrants, of whom 11,258 were males, and 1,998 females, were actually allotted to estates between the years 1853 and 1879 : and it is interesting to note that, according to a return prepared by the Immigration Agent General and laid on the table of the Court of Policy on the 22nd December, 1879, the distribution of Chinese, indentured and unindentured, in British Guiana on the 30th June, 1879, that is to say, after the last emigrant-ship from China had arrived, was as follows :—

Plantations grouped in Table IV as	Chinese Immigrants.	
	Indentured.	Unindentured.
Essequibo mainland	29	382
Essequibo Islands	32	176
West Coast, Demerara	94	501
Demerara River	31	631
East Coast, Demerara	104	867
West Coast, Berbice	3	65
Berbice River	5	94
East Coast, Berbice	—	97
Corentyne River	3	15
Totals	301	2,828

Thus it appears that of a total Chinese population, which in 1879 numbered 6,322 souls, 3,129—about the half—were in that year still labouring on the sugar estates, and that 90% of these Chinese labourers were unindentured.

**Present
distribution of the
Chinese
population.**

Since then great changes have taken place ; and in 1914 the distribution of the Chinese population in British Guiana, according to investigations made among themselves by members of the Chinese community, was as follows :—Georgetown, 672 ; New Amsterdam, 210 ; Essequibo mainland, 120 ; Essequibo islands, 78 ; Demerara, West Coast, 246 ; Demerara river, 425 ; Demerara, East Coast (including Berbice, West Coast), 244 ; Berbice river, 26 ; Canje creek, 24 ; Berbice, East Coast, 58 ; Corentyne river, 126. Thus a total of some 2,229 Chinese is scattered over the coast-lands, to which their ancestors were allotted. In addition, the count taken shows that there were 23 Chinese in the North West District (Morawhanna) ; 4 in the Pomeroon ; 21 at Bartica ; and 41 in the gold and diamond fields ; making a grand total of 2,318. The Chinese population was estimated by the Registrar General to number 2,671 souls in 1913, so that some 353 Chinese are left out of count : subject, therefore, to a probable error of about 13%, these figures are useful as indicating the approximate distribution of the Chinese now resident in the Colony,

**Examina-
tion of
Table II.**

Turning next to an examination of Table II., it appears that of 811 Chinese males landed in British Guiana in 1853 no less than 234, that is 28.8%, died during the following six years.

Then came in 1859 another batch of 701 males, making a total of 1,512 Chinese men landed in the Colony unaccompanied by any Chinese women. However, in the following year the introduction of Chinese women and girls commenced; and we now find a steady increase in the Chinese population of British Guiana, which reaches its maximum—10,022 souls—in 1866, the year in which as the result of the intervention of the Chinese Government emigration from South China was suspended. Then begins a gradual decline which reduces the Chinese community by the year 1890 to a total of 2,746 souls. From that time the total has remained constant, subject, however, to slight fluctuations, varying between 3,714 at the census of 1891 and the lowest recorded figure, namely, 2,188, in the year 1910. The total stood in the year 1913 at 2,671, giving a net decrease of only 75 souls in a period of 23 years.

Cause of decrease in Chinese com- munity.	<p>A comparison of the census figures for 1881, 1891 and 1911 (there was no census in 1901) is most instructive. In the year 1881, the Chinese community consisted of 3,905 males and 1,329 females; in the year 1891 of 2,583 males and 1,131 females and in the year 1911 of 1,481 males and 1,141 females. Thus the female population has remained very nearly constant for a period of thirty years; and it is evident that what has been taking place during these years is a natural readjustment of the male population to a number approximately equal to that of the female population. In other words, the error of introducing only 14.2% of females among the Chinese immigrants has brought with it its own retribution by neutralising the advantages of this immigration as a means of colonization. Nature</p>
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has vindicated her law that in human communities females and males should be of about equal numbers ; and has done so in this case by ordaining that of 13,485 Chinese males landed in British Guiana there should, after the lapse of more than thirty years, remain only 1,481—a decrease of 88%. But, as numerical equality in respect of the two sexes has now been re-established, we may hope in future to see that rapid increase in the Chinese community which, in the country of their origin, nature has taught us to expect : for no race has the parental instinct more strongly developed than the Chinese. There has, indeed, already been a slight increase since the census of 1911.

Longevity of Chinese. The opinion that the disastrous decline in the numbers of the Chinese community was due to lack of women, and not to any

excessive or unusual mortality, gains strength from a study of the following table, which has been prepared by Dr. K. S. Wise, the Surgeon General of British Guiana, to illustrate the longevity of the Chinese as compared with the rest of the population of this Colony during the twenty years from 1891 to 1911 :—

Age in years between.	0-1-5	5-10	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	Over 70	
Number of Chinese deaths in each age- period ...	223	102	76	50	92	120	275	556	594	335
Percentage of deaths among Chinese in each age-period ...	9.2	4.2	3.1	2.0	3.8	4.8	11.3	22.8	24.5	13.8
Percentage of deaths among whole popula- tion of British Guiana in each age-period ...	21.7	11.5	4.1	5.5	13.7	11.3	9.1	7.3	7.0	8.6

The contrast of these figures is striking and significant. They show that in the Chinese community the infantile mortality is at a rate which is less than half the rate of infantile mortality in the whole population of British Guiana. The Chinese are undoubtedly good parents. The figures also prove that, whereas in the population of the colony taken as a whole the percentage of deaths is highest in the first year of life, among the Chinese resident here the death-rate is highest between the years of sixty and seventy: while, neglecting the infants, it appears that in the population as a whole the highest death-rate is between the years twenty and thirty, namely, 13.7%, but that in the Chinese community a higher percentage than this is attained among those who are over seventy years of age. Undoubtedly, therefore, the Chinese here resident live long.

**Fertility of
Chinese
women.**

Dr. Wise also points out that for the same period, 1891-1911, the fertility of Chinese women in British Guiana was quite satisfactory. There were 528 Chinese women between 15 and 45 years of age at the 1911 census. These ages are taken as the limit of child-bearing. During the twenty years in question the Chinese averaged 87 births *per annum*, or 165 *per thousand* women of child-bearing age. The similar figure for the whole population of the Colony is 122 *per thousand*.

**Chinese
emigra-
tion from
British
Guiana.**

Although there are no official statistics concerning emigration from British Guiana before the year 1881, it is known that many Chinese, originally introduced into this Colony, had migrated elsewhere before that date. For instance, in the autumn of 1874,

Governor Longden's attention was drawn to the emigration of Chinese from Demerara to St. Lucia ; and on calling for a report he was furnished by Mr. Crosby, the Immigration Agent General, with a roll of the names of 154 Chinese men, and 11 women and children, to whom passports had been granted. Of these 135 were reported to have gone to the neighbouring Colony of Dutch Guiana, 44 to St. Lucia, 10 to Trinidad and 10 to Jamaica, while it was said that two had returned to China. All these emigrants had completed their indentures and were consequently at liberty to leave the Colony whenever they chose. Further inquiry elicited the fact that a Chinese, named Lam Yeung, who had been sent for by Mr. W. Des Vœux, the Administrator of St. Lucia, had gone there with another batch of 16 Chinese labourers and returned to British Guiana, where he was actively engaged as a recruiting agent in collecting Chinese labourers and sending them to St. Lucia. This was an offence against the laws of the Colony, and was made punishable by Ordinance No. 3 of 1864. The matter was, therefore, placed in the hands of the Attorney General, who, finding the evidence sufficient, directed a prosecution. Lam Yeung was defended by Mr. Forshaw, one of the leading lawyers, but was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £20. In the course of the trial it appeared that Mr. Crosby himself had been a party to the illegal proceedings of Lam Yeung ; that he had employed the Chinese interpreter in the Immigration Department to seek out Lam Yeung and send him to St. Lucia ; that this interpreter (who was an officer of the fixed establishment) had been employed by the Immigration Agent General to pay for the passages of the Chinese with cheques drawn by Mr. Crosby himself on the Colonial

Bank, which cheques were cashed by the interpreter and the proceeds paid by him to the Steam Packet agents. The public disclosure in the Police Court of Mr. Crosby's share in the emigration had a painful effect on the community ; and in the Court of Policy astonishment, not unmingled with indignation, was expressed that an officer, employed and paid expressly to superintend and manage all matters relating to emigration, and knowing well its cost, should aid and abet an emigration, which was depriving the Colony of advantages which had been so dearly purchased. The Attorney General, indeed, advised " that there was quite sufficient evidence to sustain a charge of aiding and abetting against " the Immigration Agent General under the same " law." Governor Longden, however, considered that by the conviction of Lam Yeung he had achieved his purpose of checking both the emigration and the recruiting operations among the Chinese, and he contented himself with severely reprimanding Mr. Crosby : while Mr. Des Vœux, who had been called upon by Lord Carnarvon for an explanation of his action, stated that the Chinese in question were not introduced into St. Lucia at the public expense, but that he advanced from his private resources the money for the passages of 24 persons, to be repaid by them from the profits of their industry, and that his intention and desire had been to draw these immigrants, not from the estates, but from the Chinese settlement in Hopetown, both because he had heard that the Chinese at Hopetown were in distress, and because he was conscious that the withdrawal of labourers from the estates would afford ground of complaint. This incident is a curious one : but I have thought it worth preserving as an example of the Chinese emigration from

British Guiana which was not recorded in the Colony's official statistics. Governor Longden himself recognized at the time* that in Trinidad there was "a very good field for Chinese industry, inasmuch as the retail trade, which is here monopolized by the Portuguese, is in Trinidad in the hands of Chinese:" and he had no desire to prevent such emigration of individuals at their own expense. What he opposed was the recruiting of emigrants in British Guiana for conveyance to another country at the expense of the State.

Six years later, on the 2nd August, 1880, Mr. T. Mulligan drew the attention of the Court of Policy to the large number of Chinese, who were constantly leaving the Colony for Dutch Guiana and Trinidad. He understood that they got a bounty of \$80 in Surinam; and one young man, who had recently been to Trinidad with a large batch, had got \$20 a head for them. Mr Mulligan had at one time the largest Chinese gang in the Colony—over 200 men—but the number had dwindled to about 50. He was informed that Chinese went to Surinam by way of the Corentyne coast, and that the passports given in this Colony were sold in Trinidad and Surinam, and then posted back to British Guiana to be used by other Chinese emigrants.

* Despatch to the Secretary of State, dated 7th October, 1874.

**Grounds
for believ-
ing that
decrease in
Chinese
community
has been
arrested.**

In the following year the Colony's emigration statistics begin : and they show that during the period 1881 to 1902, both years inclusive, 2,141 Chinese emigrated from British Guiana, whereas only 178 Chinese emigrants arrived in the Colony, a net loss of 1,963 Chinese in 22 years at a rate of rather more than 89 *per annum*. However, in the eleven years 1903 to 1913 there has been an interesting change. Chinese emigrants for that period total 1,874 as against 1,630 Chinese immigrants, a net loss of 244 Chinese at the rate of rather more than 22 *per annum*. It, therefore, looks as if the tide was turning at last in favour of British Guiana ; especially as, if we take the figures of the last six years only, that is 1908 to 1913 both years inclusive, Chinese emigration and immigration are very nearly equal, the former amounting to a total of 1,042 souls, and the latter to a total of 1,008 souls. In fact these figures so closely approximate in each year that one is led to conjecture that what is really taking place is for the most part a transit of Chinese *viâ* Georgetown to Surinam and Trinidad, and not an actual emigration from, or immigration into, British Guiana ; and this conjecture gains support when we note that in the years 1911 and 1912, when there was no Chinese immigration to British Guiana, there was also no Chinese emigration from British Guiana. Therefore, we have good ground for hoping that the loss to the Chinese community in this Colony from emigration, as well as the loss due to the excess of the death-rate over the birth-rate, has now been arrested.



CHAPTER XIV.

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME NOTABLE CHINESE FAMILIES IN DEMERARA.

One of the most striking features of Chinese immigration into British Guiana is the success which has attended some of the immigrants, who are now among the most prominent residents in the Colony. All of them are self-made men and owe the positions they have achieved to the industry, shrewdness, pertinacity and audacity in business enterprise which are the common heritage of their race. The courtesy of those concerned has enabled me to give an account of half-a-dozen of the most notable of these Chinese families, whose record is not only interesting in itself, but is valuable as showing the rewards, which in this Colony await those who know how to make the most of their opportunities.

During his lifetime no member of Ho A-Shoo. the Chinese community in this Colony was more widely known and more respected than John Ho A-Shoo, whose benevolent interests in Hopetown Settlement I have already had occasion to mention. Ho Shau 何受, to give him his true Chinese name, was born at San-wui 新會 in the province of Kuangtung in or about the year 1852, and landed in Georgetown from the *Corona* on the 23rd February, 1874, as an indentured immigrant. He was sent to Plantation Bel Air to serve the term of his contract; and while there, he not only embraced

Christianity, but became so earnest a believer that he went about with the Reverend Lau Fuk 劉福, a minister sent to this Colony by an American Society of Plymouth Brethren, endeavouring to make converts. His religious activities never abated and he was instrumental in inducing many of his countrymen to become Christians.

After completing his term of indenture, Ho A-Shoo went to Hyde Park, opposite the Kamuni Creek, on the right bank of the Demerara River, where he served as a shopman. He was thus engaged for several years ; and, having accumulated a small sum of money, he went to Plantation Versailles on the left bank of the river, and there started a small shop of his own, which must have done well, for we next find him in 1884, acquiring a business at Plantation Dunoon on the Demerara River, then a sugar estate. Under his able management the business prospered and Ho A-Shoo was on the high-road to success.

He had a full measure of Chinese enterprise ; and it was, therefore, without much difficulty that the manager of the Barima Gold Mines persuaded him to open another business at Arakaka in the year 1894. In those days it needed much courage to embark on such a venture, for Arakaka was far away in the interior, near the Venezuelan frontier, and the question of transport was at first one of very great difficulty and risk. Nevertheless, the business once started, turned out to be a veritable gold mine ; and, encouraged by this success, Ho A-shoo immediately set about opening shops in other gold-bearing districts, and, being almost the first in the field, he reaped a rich harvest.

In the year 1897, he purchased lot 27, Saffon Street, Georgetown, whereon he built the present

residence of his family. The latter part of his life was uneventful. His business brought him large returns and prospered exceedingly. He died on the 24th February, 1906, loved and respected by all his fellow countrymen.

He had, while a young man, married Miss Wong Fung-kiu 黃鳳嬌, who bore him eight children. The eldest, A-sin 亞仙, a daughter, was born in 1886, at Plantation Dunoon. At the age of ten she became a pupil at Trinity High School where, she remained for two years, after which she attended the Ursuline Convent from 1898 to the spring of 1905, when, having in the meantime passed the Cambridge senior examination, she accompanied her father to England and became a student at Nuneham College, Cambridge. Next year her father died and she then decided to study medicine, in order that, should the necessity arise, she might be able to earn her own livelihood. Her decision was conveyed to her mother, who readily consented. Accordingly, in 1906, she was enrolled as a student of medicine in the University of Edinburgh. In 1911, she became a Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and a year later a Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons. She also obtained the Dublin University's diploma for public health and is a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons. She now resides in Hongkong.

Her sister, Yüt-lan 月蘭, was born in 1888 and is the wife of Solomon Ewing Chow, of whom more hereafter. She also was educated at Trinity High School and the Ursuline Convent and afterwards at Woodside School in Georgetown. Another sister A-ho 亞好 born in 1891, was educated at the Ursuline Convent (1898-1905) and Woodside School (1905-9), after which she left to

study medicine in Edinburgh University. A brother Hung-yan 鴻恩, was born in 1895, at Akyma on the Demerara River and was at first educated at the Middle School and at Queen's College, Georgetown, then at Harrison's College, Barbados, where he spent two years, and finally at Moncton Coombe, England, (1909-13). He is at present an agricultural student at Edinburgh and should be a distinct acquisition to this Colony, when he returns.

Ewing Chow Allied by ties of business and matrimony to the Ho A-Shoo family is the family of David Johnstone Ewing-Chow,* whose father Chau Luk-wu 周陸湖, a native of Shun-tak 順德 in the Kuang-tung province, came to British Guiana in the *Dora*, landing at Georgetown on the 4th April, 1860. Chau Luk-wu was assigned to Plantation Peter's Hall, on the east bank of the Demerara River, where his son, Ewing, was born on the 26th June, 1868; and, when his term of indenture had been served, he went to Wakenaam Island in the Essequibo River. At the early age of ten little Ewing was compelled by the indignant circumstances of his parents to seek his own living; and, being a sharp and intelligent boy, he was at once employed as a shop hand. At thirteen he began to learn the gold and silversmith's trade under Lung Hang 龍恒 at Meadow Bank, east coast, Demerara, and at the age of fifteen he had saved enough of his earnings to enable him to enter into partnership with his brother-in-law, Wong Tin 黃天. But the partnership, proving unsatisfactory, was dissolved in 1883, and Ewing

*The more correct transliteration of the name is Chau.

then sought and obtained employment as a clerk in the late firm of Wo-lee 和利 and Company, at that time the leading Chinese store in the Colony. Leaving Wo-lee and Company in 1885, he again became a shopkeeper, and in 1888, he branched out as a country tailor, self-taught. In this line, he appears to have satisfied the not too fastidious taste of his customers ; for, soon afterwards, we find him employing four journeymen and two apprentices. Meanwhile he had been fortunate in attracting the attention of Ho A-shoo, then one of the leading Chinese business men in British Guiana, and of the same religious persuasion. So struck was Ho A-shoo with Ewing's business ability that, wishing to take a holiday in Barbados, he offered Ewing the management of his extensive business, which then consisted of a number of groceries and shops in various parts of the Colony, particularly in the gold-digging centres of the Potaro and Barima rivers. Ewing gladly accepted the offer, but still retained his business in the country, where his family resided. On returning from his holiday, Ho A-shoo was so well satisfied with the manner in which the business had been conducted during his absence that he engaged Ewing permanently as his manager, retaining only the right of a general supervision. In 1905, Ewing purchased lot 31, High Street, Georgetown, his present residence and his family came to live in town definitely. After the death of Ho A-shoo in 1906, Ewing continued to manage the affairs of the estate until 1910, when the present Company Ho A-shoo Limited, of which he was appointed general manager, was formed. Ewing Chow is at present a large shareholder in Ho A-shoo Limited, a partner with the widow of Ho A-shoo in the firm of Birch and

Company, Water Street, Georgetown, and a part proprietor of the sugar estate, known as Plantation Friends, Berbice.

He married in 1887, Miss Emily Leung 梁氏 and is the father of a large family of twelve, among whom may be mentioned Rebecca, married to James Ethelbert Low, of whom more hereafter ; Solomon, director of Ho A-shoo Limited, and already referred to as being married to a daughter of Ho A-shoo ; Jeremiah, a medical student at Edinburgh University ; and James, a law student of Christ's College, Cambridge.

The Lau family.

During the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion the south of China was in a disturbed and unsettled state, and in consequence many of the inhabitants were without difficulty induced to emigrate from their homeland. Among the number was a young Hak-ka, named Lau Shiu-t'ong 劉肇堂, until then a schoolmaster at Ka-ying Chou 嘉應州, a town within easy reach of Canton. He sailed on board the Whirlwind and in due course reached Georgetown on the 11th March, 1860, penniless, but with high hopes, and was sent along with others to Plantation Lusignan, east coast, Demerara, there to serve his term of indenture. As was to be expected, he was found unsuitable for work as an ordinary labourer ; but the manager of the plantation, Mr. David Dougall, with great kindness helped the ex-schoolmaster out of his difficulties by opening for him a shop on the estate. The shop-business appears to have done well : and, about the end of the year 1864, Lau Shiu-t'ong joined Wu Tai-kam at the new Chinese settlement on the Kamuni Creek and took an active part in furthering the

scheme. He may thus be regarded as one of the original Hopetown settlers. Next year he became partner in a business intended to deal with the produce of the settlement, then principally charcoal and rice. Wu Tai-kam was a silent partner in the business, and the other active partner was Li Hong 李康, who afterwards went to Jamaica, where he established himself as one of the leading Chinese merchants.

It was in this year (1865) that Lau Shiu-t'ong, having in the meantime embraced Christianity, married Miss Li A-yin 李亞然 at the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Main Street, Georgetown; and their first child, William David, was born on the 17th July, 1867, at Plantation Lusignan. A daughter, Elizabeth, was also born there in 1868, but died soon after. Lau then went with his wife to take charge of another shop at Aberdeen in the County of Essequibo, where a daughter, Dora Angelina, was born to them in December 1872. The Aberdeen business failed, and Lau was obliged to return to Plantation Lusignan, where another daughter, Maria Augusta, was born; while, on the 30th June, 1876, the son, James Ethelbert, to whom reference has already been made, was also born there. About this time fortune became unkind to the Lau family, for both the partnership business in Georgetown and the shop at Lusignan failed. The family then went to Goed Fortuin—perhaps attracted by the name—a village on the west bank of the Demerara River, and there a son, Alfred Robert, was born in 1879; but later, hearing that Mr. Dougall, the manager who had previously befriended him, had been transferred to Plantation La Jalousie on the west coast of Demerara County, Lau went there and was offered and accepted the position of

"sugar-curing boss," or foreman of those engaged in the sugar refinery. Two sons, Frederick Orlando, the most notable member of the family, and Solomon Dougall were born here on the 17th March, 1881, and the 17th August, 1883, respectively. However, in 1885, Mr. Dougall, the benefactor of the family, having resigned, Lau went to Den Amstel on the same coast and opened shops there : but, partly owing to mismanagement and partly owing to the expense of so large a family, the business again failed. Accordingly, in 1890, Lau moved on to Plantation Blankenburg, also on the west coast of Demerara county ; and, after a short residence there, crossed over to Plantation Perseverance on the Essequibo coast, where he was appointed catechist to St. Peter's parish. Death, however, claimed him on the 29th September, 1892, in his sixty-first year, within a few months of his arrival in Essequibo.

Then came another struggle for existence. The daughters, Dora and Maria, were by this time married : and, as the former lived with her husband, a shopkeeper, at Queenstown village on the Essequibo Coast, it was arranged that the widow mother should be provided by her son-in-law with a shop in the same village. By thrift, frugality and hard work the mother contrived to support her family, her sons, James and Alfred, now becoming useful and earning something as shop-assistants. The youngest, Solomon, was staying with friends at Goed Fortuin ; and Frederick lived with his sister Dora at Queenstown village, where he attended the Government Primary School.

James prospered. He married, as has been said, Rebecca, the daughter of Ewing Chow, and is a shareholder of Ho A-Shoo, Limited, a part-proprietor of Plantation Friends,

and the book-keeper of Messrs. Birch and Company, Georgetown. The career of Frederick was more varied. When he reached the highest standard, the seventh, of the Government Primary School in Queenstown, he evinced a desire to follow in his father's footsteps and become a schoolmaster. But the family was against it, and he was put out to serve as shop-assistant at the wage of \$5 a month, board and lodging free. This was about the year 1896. On the 8th September, 1899, he entered the employ of Ho A-shoo and was sent up to Wismar on the Demerara River. Whilst here he got hold of a Pitman's shorthand manual and commenced to study the subject, whenever he found any leisure, his working hours being sixteen a day. Nature had endowed him with the innate industry and application of his race, and he doubtless inherited from his father the characteristics of the Chinese *literati*. He read everything that came within his reach. On the 24th May, 1900, he was sent to Five Stars on the Barima River to take charge of a business there. This was an ideal place from his standpoint, as the customers were all gold-diggers, who worked at a distance of about five miles from the shop and only came out to purchase their stores on Saturday. Hence there were six days for study, and Frederick Lau (or Low, as the name is usually transliterated in the Colony,) studied assiduously, often reading into the early hours of the morning. On the 1st October, 1900, he won a third-class certificate for shorthand, and in the following year a second-class for speed. He remained at Five Stars until the 2nd January, 1902, when he left for Georgetown, and resigning the position he held under Ho A-shoo, he joined on the 11th February, 1902, the late firm of Hing

Cheong 興昌 and Company, Georgetown, as their Customs Clerk at a lower salary than Ho A-shoo had paid him, his object being to obtain the benefit of qualified tutors in town. Economical to a degree, save where books were concerned, he was now the possessor of several hundreds of dollars. On the 10th April, 1902, he became a private pupil of Mr. Saunders, schoolmaster of the Roman Catholic School in Main Street, and he now began to be instructed in the rudiments of Latin and French. Finding that the work at Hing Cheong and Company took up too much of his time, and being determined at all costs to pursue his studies, he left that firm on the 30th June, 1902, and began to read law with Mr. S. E. Barnes, a solicitor, while being also a private pupil of Mr. A. A. Thorne, master of the Middle School, Robb Street. After a short while he sat for and passed the Cambridge Junior Examination.

He now suggested to his brother James, who held a responsible post under Ho A-shoo, the desirability of going to London, in order to read for the Bar. James readily agreed to this and made Frederick a monthly allowance for his upkeep; while, on the matter becoming known, his former employers, Ho A-shoo and Chow Wai-hing 周維興, head of Messrs. Hing Cheong and Company, among others of the leading Chinese in the Colony, started a movement for the purpose of raising additional funds for him. This was the proudest moment of his life. His modest behaviour and industry had gained him the esteem of his fellow countrymen: several hundred dollars were raised and he was duly presented with the amount. He reached London on the 21st April, 1904; and, on the 7th May, he became the private pupil of Mr. A. W. Bain. On the 4th October,

1904, he joined the University Tutorial College, Red Lion Square, London ; he was admitted as a student of the Middle Temple on the 9th August, 1905, passed his final examination in December, 1907, and was called to the Bar on the 1st July, 1908. He was then 27 years of age. He returned to British Guiana a barrister, and has since then been engaged in the practice of his profession in this Colony. His career is an exemplification of the individual assiduity and the collective solidarity of his race.

M. U. Another victim of the T'ai-p'ing
Hing rebellion was Joshua Wu A-hing

胡亞慶 born at San-wui city in the province of Kuang-tung. His family was robbed and driven from its home by the rebels ; and Wu A-hing, as yet a mere boy, was induced in consequence to emigrate to these shores. Accordingly he sailed from China in the *Chapman* and arrived in Demerara on the 9th June, 1861. He was then assigned to Plantation Ogle, East Coast, Demerara, to serve the term of his indenture, after which he went to Plantation Versailles and was promoted to be a " driver " * in 1872. Next year he went to Goedverwagting, East Coast, Demerara, where he was taught the secrets of " panboiling," that is a process which the juice of the sugar-cane undergoes before granulating. Here his eldest son, Manoel Wu—better known in the Colony as M. U. Hing †—was born.

*The term is a survival in British Guiana of the slave days. It means a sort of under overseer.

† A curious corruption. The real surname is *Wu* sometimes also transliterated *U* ; the *M* stands for Manoel : and Hing, which is the father's name (not surname), has been tacked on as if it were the son's surname, whereas it is really no part of his name at all.

In 1875 the father left for Plantation Schoonord, there to become chief panboiler, a position carrying with it a fair wage. With care and economy Wu A-hing saved enough money to purchase in 1887 a jeweller's business at lot 29, Lombard Street, and he apprenticed his son, Manoel, to a goldsmith in 1888. In the following year young Manoel took over the management of his father's business, and wishing to extend it, he took new premises at 30, Lombard Street, in 1897, at which place he remained until 1912, when, the ownership of the premises having changed, he removed to 3, Lombard Street, a building which was completely burnt down in the disastrous fire which occurred on the 22nd December, 1913. But, in spite of the loss then suffered, M. U. Hing is still one of the leading jewellers in Georgetown. In 1893 he married Miss Ellen T'o Fu 杜富, and he has a family of seven children, two boys and five girls. The eldest son, Joshua, assists his father in the business. The elder girls, Laura, Rosalind and Doris, attend Woodside School.

The fire which caused considerable loss to M. U. Hing occasioned the death of Ho A-hing, another prominent Chinese resident in Georgetown. Ho Hin 何顯, better known locally as Andrew Hunter Ho A-hing, † was born at Sam-shui 三水 in the province of Kuang-tung, in or about the year 1843. When a boy of nineteen, he was induced to emigrate in search of a fortune and sailed from China in the *Red Riding Hood*, reaching Georgetown on the 11th April, 1862. Among others he

† A-hing is a corruption of A-hin. Ho A-hing was no relation of Ho A-shoo, although they have the same surname.

was assigned to Plantation Eliza and Mary, East Coast, Berbice, where he began his term of indenture, being later on transferred to Plantation Bath on the same coast. The then manager, Mr. Andrew Hunter, recognizing his ability, made him "a driver"; and, having accumulated some money, Ho A-hing opened a shop on this estate. The venture prospered, and soon afterwards he started a second business. At last in 1882, when he had been twenty years in the Colony, Ho A-hing found himself in a position to commence business in the town of New Amsterdam, where he rapidly became the leading merchant. In 1894, he purchased the sugar estate known as Plantation Smithfield; and in 1898, further extending his activities, he bought lot 13, Water Street, Georgetown, where Messrs. Wieting and Richter's Ice Factory now stands. Here he started a large wholesale store, which he subsequently removed, in 1908, to lot 25, Lombard Street, where the business was carried on until the premises were destroyed by the fire of December, 1913. He was only partly insured, and the loss was such a shock to him that he died soon afterwards at his residence, lot 39, High Street, Georgetown, at the ripe age of seventy.

In 1880, he had married Miss Ruth Wan 溫氏 at Plantation Bath, and twelve children were born to him. One of them, Joseph, was educated at the Diocesan school in Hongkong, at Illminster Grammar School in England, and at Queen's College in Georgetown. Joseph went to England in 1910 to read for the Bar, and was admitted a student of the Middle Temple, but died in January 1912, before sitting for his final examination. The second son, Benjamin Hunter, was born at New Amsterdam and was also educated at Hongkong and Illminster. He has been manager of

the business in Georgetown since 1900 and is a well-travelled man, having been round the world twice. A daughter, Martha, born in 1890, at New Amsterdam was educated at the Convent in that town ; but leaving in 1911, she entered the Grosvenor College in England, and is now a student of medicine in Edinburgh.

**Evan
Wong.**

The last Chinese family, now resident in the Colony, which I propose to describe, is in many ways the most noteworthy of all. Wong Yan-sau 黃恩秀, better known locally as Evan Wong, came to Demerara with his parents while a mere boy of ten. He was born at Hongkong in the year 1868, and there attended the Basil Missionary School ; but his parents having determined to emigrate to the West Indies, young Wong had perforce to abandon his studies and follow the fortunes of his family. They embarked in the *Dartmouth* and arrived in Georgetown on the 17th March, 1879. It will be remembered that the emigrants in the *Dartmouth*, the last Chinese emigrant ship which came to these shores, were not under indenture : but Wong's father nevertheless decided to try his luck as a labourer on the sugar estates and was assigned to Plantation Great Diamond. There was a school on that estate, and at it Yan-sau resumed his studies. Being a bright boy, he rapidly passed the various standards in the school ; and, after eighteen months of application, we find him in the highest form. It so fell out that, in 1881, the school was visited by the late Bishop Austin, accompanied by the Reverend Robert Wylie. The latter in some way got into conversation with little Wong and took such a fancy to him that he at once asked for and obtained the

permission of his parents to take the lad with him. Yan-sau was thus transported from the bustle of life on a plantation to the reposeful surroundings of a vicarage, first in Georgetown and afterwards at Enmore, East Coast, Demerara. After four years of this quiet life, during which, no doubt, the principles of Christianity were deeply impressed upon his youthful mind, Yan-sau was thrown upon his own resources, because he refused to go to the County of Essequibo, whither the Reverend Mr. Wylie had been directed to repair. We next find Wong attached as assistant interpreter to the Immigration Depôt, at Georgetown; but after a brief period of six months he resigned, in order to better himself; and with the assistance of his parents, in or about the year 1885, he started a shop at Golden Grove on the east bank of the Demerara River. Things went well with him until 1889, the period of the gold boom. Wong, then 21 years old, caught the gold fever, and, throwing up his shop, he fitted out an expedition and proceeded with feverish haste up the Essequibo and pegged out his claim at a spot not far from the famous "Omai Mines." But, instead of finding gold, he fell ill, and within a few months he came back to Georgetown, full of pain, a broken man both in health and wealth. It is stated that he lost upwards of \$2,000, his all, in this venture. His brother Wong Yan-cheung 黃恩章 came to his help: and, as was to be expected, we find him in 1890 once more engaged in business at Plantation Diamond. Fortune again began to smile upon him, and he rapidly accumulated money. In 1892, he married a Miss Sarah Leung 梁氏 at Plantation Diamond and became a father in the following year, when his eldest child, Marie, was born. Now in quick succession there

passed into his hands Plantation New Hope, East Bank, Demerara, a tract of over 400 acres planted with rubber, cocoa, coffee and coconuts; First Island (also known as Plantation Inver); Plantation Roslyn; Plantation Garden of Eden; and Plantation Dunoon, a tract of land over 2,000 acres in extent, containing cocoa and rubber. All these estates were on the Demerara River. On the Essequibo River he acquired the Omai gold-mines and Plantations Buckhall, Good Hope and Greenwich Park. All these properties, excepting the Omai gold-mines, New Hope and Dunoon were recently sold by Wong to the Western Coconut Estates, Limited, but mortgaged by this Company to him. Evan Wong is also owner of a large number of shops and groceries in various parts of the Colony. He has several properties in Georgetown, is connected with the gold and diamond industries, is the owner of several balata grants, and is largely interested in the timber industry. He is the possessor of several saw-mills, the principal among them being at Waini in the North West District; and he is a shareholder in many companies in Georgetown. In his leisure moments horse-racing has great attractions for him; and he is the owner of several race-horses as well as of a number of brood-mares.

There has been only one break in his continuous run of good fortune, and that was the destructive Georgetown fire of December, 1913, in which Evan Wong suffered a loss of some \$40,000. This, however, far less serious to him now than was the loss of \$2,000 in 1889, has not checked his onward career; and he bids fair to be soon, if he is not already, one of the wealthiest colonists in British Guiana.

Evan Wong is the father of a family of eight, among whom Robert Victor, born in 1895, and

educated at Queen's College, Georgetown, is a student of civil engineering at Bristol University in England, where he passed his intermediate examination for the degree of Bachelor of Science in July, 1914. Another son, Vivian Ignatius, born in 1899, won the Mitchell Scholarship in this Colony, where he is now a student at Queen's College.

Much might, no doubt, be added to the foregoing achievements of the families Ho, Chau, Lau, Wu and Wong, with a view of illustrating in greater detail the tenacity of purpose with which these immigrants, penniless and friendless, have, by virtue of those qualities, which make their race such admirable colonists in tropical countries all the world over, won their way to success in Demerara as labourers, mechanics, shopkeepers, merchants and professional men. But, I think, no resident in this Colony can read even this brief account of their struggles and their success without fervently wishing that many more such men may be persuaded to emigrate from China and become fathers of not less numerous families in a land so urgently in need of enterprise and of population as British Guiana.



CHAPTER XV.

CONCLUSIONS.

**The popu-
lation of
China.**

The population of China proper,* according to the last census taken by the Ming dynasty, sixty years before their end, was then recorded to be 64 million souls ; while the first census taken by the late Manchu dynasty, after the restoration of order in 1651, gave the population of the Eighteen Provinces as 55 millions. In other words, as Mr. J. O. P. Bland points out,** the rebellion against the Ming dynasty was accompanied by the slaughter usual during such upheavals, and the Manchus took over an empire unafflicted by the economic pressure due to overcrowding. The long campaigns of the Emperor K'ang Hsi 康熙 served to check the natural increase of the population until the year 1681, when peace became general in China proper, where the official census of 1680 showed a total of about 75 millions. From this time the population steadily increased ; and the figures given by Mr. W. W. Rockhill † show that in 1720, three years before the death of K'ang Hsi, the total had reached 125 millions. In 1743, at the beginning of the reign of the Em-

* The Eighteen Provinces, excluding the four dependencies—Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet and Turkestan.

** This Passage is based on pp. 63-4 of Mr. Bland's book *Recent Events and Present Policies in China* ; Heine-
mann, London, 1912.

† *Inquiry into the Population of China*, by W. W. Rock-
hill ; Washington, 1904.

peror Ch'ien Lung 乾隆, it was 143 millions. In 1783, towards the end of that reign, the Chinese Government's official estimate was 283 millions; in 1812, under the Emperor Chia Ch'ing 嘉慶, it had increased to 360 millions; and in 1842, before the outbreak of the T'ai-p'ing rebellion, the total had risen to 413 millions. In 1862, after the vast slaughter and devastation of that rebellion, the census taken by the Chinese Government recorded a total of 261 millions ‡: while the latest Chinese official census of the Eighteen Provinces, taken in 1902, gave the total population as 407,335,305. §

**Economic
pressure
caused by
rapidly in-
creasing popu-
lation in China.**

Mr. Bland is, therefore, undoubtedly justified in tracing a direct connection between the rapidly increasing pressure of population during the reign of Chia Ch'ing and those manifestations of widespread disturbance, which at that time began to take definite shape and direction against the Manchu dynasty, sapping its strength and preparing the way for its overthrow in 1911. He is also unquestionably right in attributing the chronic unrest and desperate struggle for existence in China to the procreative recklessness, "which rears four generations while Europe is rearing

‡ In addition to the losses occasioned by battle, murder and sudden death during the period of extreme pressure, it is recorded in the dynastic annals that by four great famines (in 1810, 1811, 1846 and 1849) the population had been reduced by about 45 millions.

§ Mr. H. B. Morse in his book *The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire*, Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai, 1908, p. 203, thinks that Mr. Parker's estimate of 385 millions is probably safer than the census figure.

"three." * Taught by Confucius and inspired by the doctrine of ancestor-worship, the Chinese race implicitly believes and unánimously acts on the belief that a man's first duty in life is to provide as many male heirs as possible for the comfort of himself and his ancestors : while " to add " to the burden of philoprogenitiveness, the traditions of the race have decreed, with the force of " religion, that it is the duty of every man to sacrifice at stated intervals at his ancestral tombs " and to be buried, in due season, with his fathers. " Thus the great bulk of the population have for " centuries been rigidly localized ; and a people, " from whom Confucianism has gradually eliminated all instincts of collective initiative, and into " whom Buddhism has instilled a spirit of passivity and renunciation, has been deprived of the " outlets which general emigration and territorial " expansion northwards might otherwise have provided. Within their own borders, therefore, " they have perished, sacrificed by millions to a " social system utterly improvident and callous of " human suffering." ¶

**Necessity
of emigration
from
China.**

In view of these circumstances, and taking into consideration the fact that, according to official statistics, during the thirty years from 1812 to 1842 the population of China increased by 53 millions, or by about one-seventh of the total at which it stood in 1812, and between 1862 and 1902 by the enormous figure of 246

* Bland *loc. cit.* p. 15 : cf. p. 193 "The Chinese birth-rate is three times as high as the American."

¶ Bland, *loc. cit.* p. 15.

millions,—almost doubling itself in forty years,* —it cannot well be denied that China is a most suitable country in which to recruit labour for sparsely populated lands ; nor can it be doubted that an enlightened Chinese Government, knowing that one of China's most important assets is, as Mr. H. B. Morse puts it, § “her export of brawn and brains in the emigration of a portion of her redundant population, whether as traders or as labourers, remitting to their homes the fruit of the labour in an annual sum which, on the lowest possible estimate, is Tls. 73,000,000” (say £12,000,000), would seek to encourage such emigration, especially in times of peace and prosperity, when the economic pressure of a population in excess of the available food-supply is likely to be most severe. And here I desire again to emphasize the fact that British Guiana chose one of the least opportune periods in Chinese history for the experiment of recruiting labour in China. By far the largest number of Chinese emigrants were shipped to Demerara between the years 1853 and 1862, that is to say, towards the close of the twenty years, from 1842 to 1862, during which the Chinese population *decreased* by 152 millions or by about three-eighths of the total at which it stood in 1842, and, just as the phenomenal increase in the population of the Eighteen Provinces shown by the last census, was about to begin, Chinese emigration to British Guiana languished and ceased.

* Accepting Mr. Parker's estimate, which is more conservative than the figures of the official census, the population increased by 124 millions, *i.e.*, by about one-half of the total at which it stood in 1862.

§ Morse, *loc. cit.* p. 301.

**Provinces of
Kuang-tung
and Fu-kien a
suitable
recruiting
ground for
British Guiana.**

Admitting, then, that China is a country from which, under normal conditions, emigration on a large scale is an economic necessity, it must also, I think, be conceded that this Colony did well in selecting Kuang-tung and

Fu-kien, the two southernmost sea-coast provinces, as the most suitable recruiting ground for labourers on the sugar estates of British Guiana. The Kuang-tung province has an area of 100,000 square miles and a population of 318 to the square mile : it is the most populous region of the whole West Riverbasin. The Fu-kien province has an area of 46,332 square miles, and a population of 493 to the square mile : it is the smallest of the Eighteen Provinces, but as regards density of population it takes the fourth place.* In order to appreciate the full significance of these figures, one must remember that British Guiana with an area of some 90,277 square miles has a population of not more than three souls to the square mile. The climate along the sea-coast of South China is not unlike that of the coastlands of this Colony. For instance, the annual rainfall in Georgetown averages about 92 inches : that in Hong Kong during the year 1911 was 90.5 inches. In Demerara the mean temperature throughout the year is about 80° Fahr., the mean maximum being 88° in the months of September and October, and the mean minimum 74° in the month of January. In Hongkong the mean maximum temperature ranges from 87° in June to 63° in January, and the mean minimum from 80° in

* The order of density of population is Shan-tung, Kiang-su, Hu-peh, Fu-kien, with a population of 683, 620, 495 and 493 to the square mile respectively.

June to 56° in January. Moreover, the experience already derived from such Chinese immigration as has hitherto taken place shows that the acclimatization of natives of Kuang-tung and Fu-kien in British Guiana is not a difficult matter. The people of Fu-kien supported mainly by the sea, with a rough and not particularly fertile hinterland, are driven to emigrate in great numbers ; and from Amoy, it is estimated, at least 200,000 able-bodied men go every year to the Southern Seas. The Cantonese, sturdy and industrious—differing in this from other subtropical peoples,—emigrate chiefly from a spirit of adventure and in the hope of money-making, which is a dominant characteristic of the race ; while their ready adaptability to climate and environment, their thrift and, sobriety, as well as their reliability, combine to make them ideal settlers in undeveloped regions.

**Reasons
which
induce
Canada,
Australia
and South
Africa to
exclude
Chinese are
inapplicable to British Guiana.**

Another point must not be overlooked. The very reasons which induce Canada, Australia and South Africa to object to Chinese immigration mark out the Chinese as suitable colonists for British Guiana. Economically the yellow man has no superior in fair competition, having been inured to a standard of living on which no white race can subsist : and, wherever the Chinese have gone, they have proved that, given good government and a reasonable field of opportunity, they are intellectually and morally qualified to make useful citizens. Yet every fresh proof they have given of their fitness to survive in the fiercest struggle for life has merely increased the determination

of the white race to close the door against them in those countries which are recognised as suited for colonization by European peoples. In this the white race has merely acted from an instinct of self-preservation, realising that the marvellous rapidity with which the yellow race expands, the cheap wage for which the Chinese will work, and the facility with which he concentrates wealth and business into his hands, give his European competitors no chance of success, unless they can protect themselves against the operations of nature behind the artificial shelter of their Exclusion Acts. But this very philoprogenitiveness and economic efficiency of the yellow man make him an invaluable settler in a Colony such as British Guiana, situated almost on the equator and admittedly not a land which the white races can ever hope to people. Here is a rich province, nearly as large as Kuang-tung, undeveloped for want of population and crippled by the cost of labour. The very place where the procreative recklessness and the adventurous industry of the Chinese is most needed !

Causes of failure of Chinese immigration as a colonization scheme in British Guiana.

Why then, have the attempts so far made to introduce Chinese immigrants into this Colony failed of success ? For, although there is little doubt that from the point of view of the planters the Chinese immigration into British Guiana was not a failure, and that the estates' authorities were well repaid in the work done on the sugar plantations for the cost of importing Chinese labourers, nevertheless an experiment, which during the course of twenty-seven years introduces 14,000 immigrants with the result that thirty-two years

later less than 3,000 remain, must from the point of view of colonization be pronounced to have failed.

(a) Insufficient number of females.

One of the chief causes of failure was, no doubt, the insufficient number of female immigrants. The proportion of females in the total Chinese immigration was only 14.2%; and, as I have shown in detail in the chapter dealing with vital statistics, nature has vindicated her law that in human communities males and females should be of about equal numbers by ruthlessly cutting down the male population until at the census of 1911 the numbers of both sexes had closely approximated.

(b) Fluctuation in annual indents.

Another cause of failure was the capricious fluctuation in the annual indents of British Guiana for Chinese labour. A fluctuating demand, such as that for 3,500 Chinese immigrants in the season, 1861-2, and for no more than 840 in the following season, not only baffled the arrangements of the Colony's agents in China, but (as Mr. Sampson remarked) bewildered the emigrating classes of the Chinese people with doubts and disappointments, the cause of which they did not understand.

(c) Lack of communication between China and British Guiana.

But the fact which mainly contributed to the failure of the experiment as a colonization scheme was the very fact which at first commended it to the planters, namely, the *apparent* economy due to back-passages not being provided for Chinese immigrants. Now, as Emerson says, "*creative economy is the fuel of magnifi-*

cence": but although British Guiana is proud of having been called by one of its Governors a "magnificent province," these words have never been laid to heart in the Colony. The proprietors of estates were interested in the project of introducing immigrants from China merely as a means of solving their chronic labour difficulties: and their outlook was limited year by year to the supply of labour required for the next following season. They did not realize that the problem of colonizing this sparsely populated country was one and the same as the problem of providing their sugar estates with a steady supply of cheap labour. Their aim was only to satisfy the needs of the moment, not to lay the foundations of a scheme, which by a judicious initial outlay would attract to this Colony some of the redundant millions of China, and by increasing the population of British Guiana provide its plantations with the necessary labour supply. Thus, not only were the planters unwilling to give the Chinese back-passages, but (as we have seen) they even grudged, and at last abolished, the allotment system, by which a part of the Chinese immigrant's wage was paid to his relatives in China, thereby keeping him in touch with his homeland. The result was, of course, that the emigrant to British Guiana was completely lost to all who once knew him in his mother-country; and, no matter how successful he might be in his new environment, he was no advertisement at all for this Colony among his fellow-countrymen. Demerara became known in South China as a land whence no one returned; and it was this fact which finally gave the Chinese Authorities a pretext for intervening in such a manner that the emigration was during many years suspended.

Chinese community in British Guiana mainly Christian.

There is, indeed, cause for some surprise that, having regard to the well-known centripetal forces of Chinese ancestor-worship and the sentiment which impels the race to revisit at frequent intervals the tombs of their fathers, British Guiana should possess a Chinese community of which China knows nothing,* and to which China is almost unknown. The explanation is to be found in the fact that the Chinese community in British Guiana was to a great extent from the outset, and is almost entirely now, a Christian community. It will be remembered that the success of Mr. J. G. Austin's attempt to set on foot "family emigration" from South China was largely due to the help given him by the Rev. Mr. Lobscheid and other missionaries, who induced their converts to accept the terms offered by the British West Indies : that, for instance, among the emigrants in the *Lady Elma Bruce* were eight or ten Christians, who possessed bibles, prayer books and hymns in their own language, held religious services on Sundays, and explained the scriptures to the other emigrants on board, by which means (it was said) nearly a hundred of these persons were likely to become Christians : that in the last immigrant ship, the *Dartmouth*, there were some seventy Christians : that the Hopetown Settlement was founded as a Christian village, and that its founder Wu Tai-kam, was a Christian priest. It is interesting to note that on the 14th August, 1874, twenty-one years after the first Chinese landed in this Colony, Governor Longden laid the first stone of a church in Georgetown,

* No trade is at present carried on with China by the Chinese resident in British Guiana.

built at the instance of the Chinese Christians in Demerara for their exclusive use. This Church was completed and opened in 1875 for service in the Chinese language according to the forms of the Church of England. The Chinese themselves defrayed one half of its cost and the Church Committee, under the auspices of the Bishop, raised the other half by voluntary subscription. No aid was sought from the Government. Queen Victoria, to whose notice Lord Carnarvon brought this event, expressed herself as rejoiced to hear of the marked progress which Christianity had made among the Chinese community in British Guiana and the happy result which had rewarded the zeal of the ministers of religion in the Colony.

To sum up, then, the Chinese immigration failed as a colonization scheme because it was neither initiated, nor yet pursued, in the interests of colonization. The planters needed adult male labourers and were, therefore, indifferent to the low percentage of females in the Chinese immigration. The labour required by the sugar estates fluctuated; the planters did not, therefore, trouble to maintain that steady annual demand which might have served to accustom the minds of the labouring classes in South China to the idea of emigrating to British Guiana. The planters' chief aim was to obtain the labour they needed as cheaply as possible: they were, therefore, glad to dispense with back-passages and allotments, in order that the cost of the Chinese immigrant might as far as possible be reduced to that of the East Indian.

Unique
opportunity in
1861 lost.

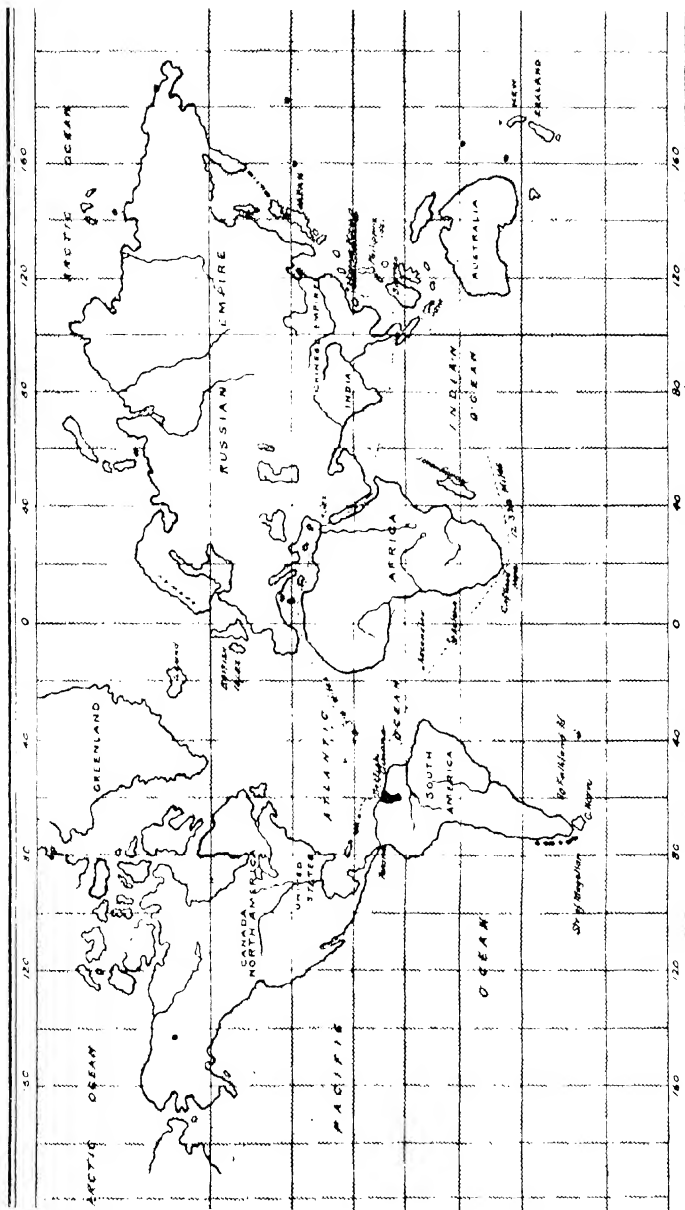
Even so there was a moment in the history of Chinese immigration to this Colony when the experiment might have succeeded. From the 5th January, 1858, to the 21st October, 1861, Canton had been under joint British and French control, and the whole seaboard of Kuang-tung province was dominated by the Allied Commanders. Profiting by this unique opportunity, Mr. J. G. Austin had, with the help of the Reverend Mr. Lobscheid and other missionaries and of Mr. Parkes, who was British Consul at Canton and member of the Provisional Government of that city, contrived to arrange a system of family emigration capable of despatching annually some 3,000 Chinese immigrants to British Guiana. Depôts had been opened not only in Hong Kong and Canton, but also in Amoy and Swatow, with branches at Shiu-hing, Jam-shin, Hang-tsai and Tat-hao-p'u. All was going well: satisfactory regulations had been framed: the Chinese Authorities were well-disposed and offered the desired assistance. This was, moreover, the very time when in China the years of devastation were at an end, and the Eighteen Provinces were on the eve of those comparatively peaceful forty years in which their population almost doubled. Just at this crisis, owing (as it seems) to misunderstanding of the nature of Mr. Austin's operations and to an unfounded suspicion both in England and Demerara that money was being wasted, the system of Chinese immigration, which had been so successfully organized, was suddenly destroyed. Mr. Austin was removed from the post of Emigration Agent. The Colony's emigration establishments in China were reduced: and the golden opportunity was lost.

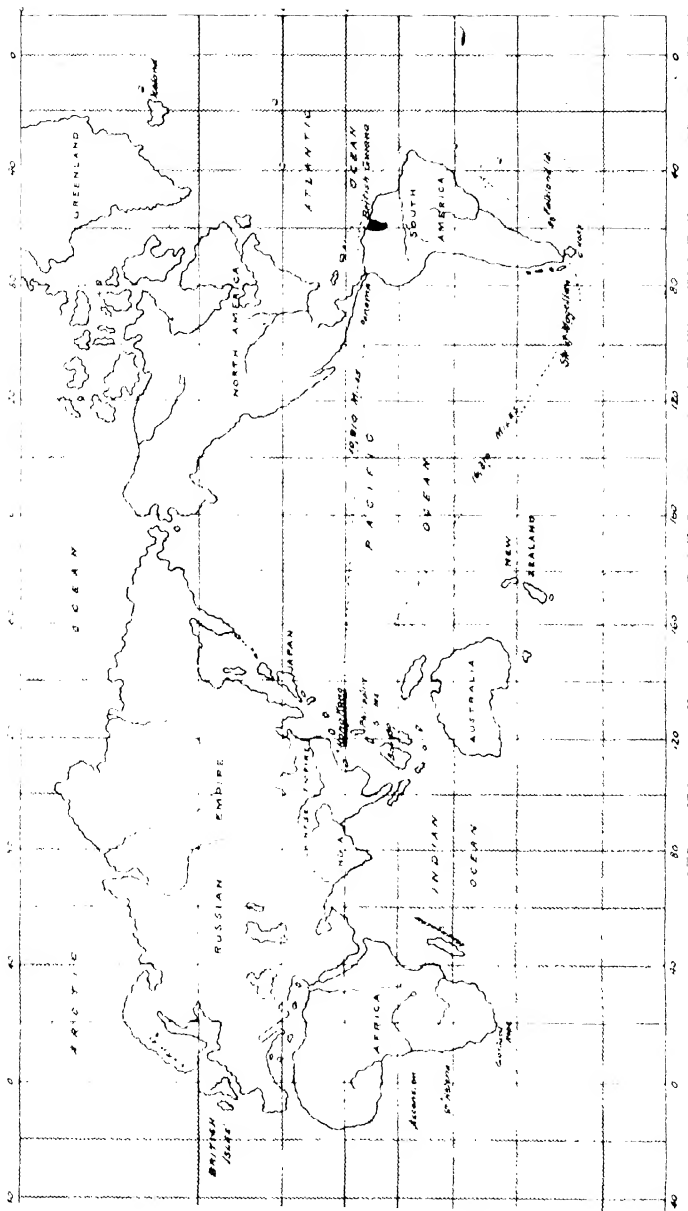
**Changes
during the
last 35
years.**

But is there any hope left for the future? Will the time, to which Mr. Sampson looked forward in sanguine moments, ever come, when Chinese emigrants will flock of their own accord to British Guiana as they do to less distant parts of the world? Is it practicable to colonize and develop this country with labour drawn from South China? Before attempting an answer to these questions, it may be useful to indicate very briefly the principal changes which the thirty-five years, elapsed since the last Chinese emigrant-ship came to these shores, have effected in those conditions, which mainly concern the solution of the problem.

(a) Steamers instead of sailing ships; opening of Panama Canal.

In the first place, one must not forget that all Chinese immigrants introduced into British Guiana between the years 1853 and 1879, came to the colony in sailing vessels round the Cape of Good Hope, the duration of the longest voyage being 177 days, that of the shortest voyage 70 days, and the average duration of the whole 39 voyages being $102\frac{1}{3}$ days. Since that time steamers have taken the place of sailing-ships, and ordinary cargo vessels (averaging not more than 240 miles a day) could be relied upon to make the passage from Hong Kong to Georgetown *via* the Cape of Good Hope—a distance of 12,320 miles—in about 52 days. Moreover, Mr. Firth's expectation that a canal would be "cut through the Isthmus of Darien" has this year been fulfilled, with the result that there is now an alternative and a shorter route through the Panama Canal. The distance by this route is some 10,910 miles and could be accomplished by a similar cargo steamer in 45





days. Thus the average duration of the voyage from Hong Kong to Georgetown has been shortened by about the half.

Theoretically two other routes are possible, that *via* the Suez Canal and that through the Straits of Magellan : but the latter may be left out of consideration as it is the longest of all four routes, the distance being some 16,310 miles, while the voyage *via* the Suez Canal—12,310 miles—is so nearly the same length as that round the Cape of Good Hope that, in view of canal dues, it too may be left out of account.

With the decrease in the length of the voyage, and in view of the advantages offered by steamers as against sailing-vessels, it is reasonable to expect that the mortality in the immigrant-ships would be very considerably reduced. Of the 39 voyages made by Chinese immigrant-ships to Georgetown only two were unaccompanied by loss of life. In the remaining cases the mortality ranged from the terrible figure of 44·8% in the *Lord Elgin* to a loss of one life only on five occasions, the average mortality on 39 voyages being 5·06%. To-day immigrants are carried to all parts of the world by steamers, and loss of life on ship-board is the exception and not the rule. Moreover, it may confidently be anticipated that the use of steamers as immigrant-ships would obviate mutinies and disasters such as those which befell the *Pride of the Ganges* and the *Jeddo*.

(b) **Health conditions in British Guiana improved.** Again, the last 35 years have seen a vast improvement in health conditions in British Guiana. When Lord Macaulay wished to bring home to his readers the progress in sanitation made by the England of his day,

he wrote of the by-gone time "when men "died faster in the lanes of our towns than "they now die on the coast of Guiana."* Such a comparison is no longer apposite. In the days when yellow fever was endemic and anti-malarial measures unknown, this Colony gained and, it must be confessed, deserved a reputation for dangerous unhealthiness. But here, as elsewhere, the scientific measures adopted against tropical disease have entirely transformed the conditions under which earlier generations lived and died. Sporadic cases of yellow fever, which occur at rare intervals, are invariably introduced from outside ; and the last epidemic of any importance was in 1881. Malarial fevers are common, due to the infection carried by the malarial mosquito ; but prophylactic measures, such as the use of quinine and of mosquito-curtains, greatly reduce the risk of infection, while the climate is free from those sudden changes from heat to cold and *vice versa* which are so common and dangerous to health in countries with a less uniform temperature. Indeed, as Schomburgk says :— "The uniformity of the temperature is so great in "British Guiana that it is not surpassed by any "country on the globe."§ Moreover, as the Colony lies in the main track of the equinoctial current, the atmosphere is being constantly cooled by the sea-breezes. Considering the naturally healthy climate, the death-rate was formerly far higher than it should have been. "The causes

* *History of England* Vol. I. chapter 2 *ad fin.* The first volume of Lord Macaulay's *History* was published in 1848, a few years before Chinese immigration into this Colony began, and the last volume in 1861, when that immigration was at its height.

§ *A Description of British Guiana* by R. H. Schomburgk, (1840) p. 27.

"are not far to seek,"* wrote Sir Joseph Godfrey, lately Surgeon General of the Colony, "and may broadly be divided as due to:—

"(a) The excessive infantile mortality, especially among the black races, the infants of which are grossly neglected and fed on all sorts of indigestible food:

"(b) preventible diseases:

"(c) indiscretion with regard to drink and food."† A death-rate of 34·4 *per* thousand as in 1910, or even of 29·2 *per* thousand as in 1912, is admittedly bad: but the latest published statistics for the second quarter of 1914, show that the Colony's death-rate has fallen to 20·4 *per* thousand persons living and infantile mortality to 123 *per* thousand births. Both these figures constitute records hitherto unattained. Conditions on the sugar estates have much improved, as was clearly proved by the 1912 statistics, which show a reduction in the immigrant death-rate from 30·8 *per* thousand in 1910 to 17·5 for all East Indians on the plantations; while this year the records for the Skeldon and Port Mourant Districts draw from Dr. K. S. Wise, the present Surgeon General, the following remark:—"In these two districts a population of 27,000 persons has a birth-rate of 50 *per* thousand persons living, a death-rate of 10 *per* thousand persons living, and an infantile mortality rate of 35 *per* thousand births. These records indicate a high state of salubrity and few places in the world will be found to equal or surpass them."‡

† *Handbook of British Guiana* (1909) p. 90.

‡ *Official Gazette of British Guiana*, (1914) p. 1276.

**(c) Growth
of new in-
dustries in
British
Guiana.**

It is also important to remember that the only employment offered to the original Chinese immigrants was work on the sugar plantations. Sugar is still the staple product of the Colony, but it is no longer the only one. Alluvial washing for gold became a recognised industry of British Guiana in 1886, when the Government brought into force the first mining regulations ; and since 1890 the outcrops of gold bearing quartz have been worked by crushing operations. In the latter year an expedition to the Upper Mazaruni, whilst searching for gold, discovered small diamonds in the gravel in some number : and the Colony now has a diamond industry. In its forests British Guiana possesses a rich store of valuable timber, notably greenheart, mora and wallaba, and this asset is now being exploited by several companies : while among the many resources of the forests are balata and rubber. The export of balata, which is considerable, dates from 1863 and amounted to 1,350,526 lbs. in 1913-4 ; that of rubber is more recent and only began in 1904, amounting to no more than 1,292 lbs. in 1913-4. Rice is now extensively grown and the export, which began 1903-4, when it was only 18,740 lbs., reached in 1913-4, ten years later, the total of 21,117,530 lbs. It may, therefore, be claimed that the openings offered to immigrants by British Guiana are now more varied and more attractive than in the days of the original Chinese immigration.

(d) **Improved relations between China and the West.**

In the next place, recent years have seen a great change in the relations between China and the West. A century ago, in 1811, when the proposal that the British West Indies should look to China for a supply of free labour was first mooted, trade between China and Europe was very precarious, while trade between China and the continent of America did not exist. In 1853, when the first Chinese immigrants came to British Guiana, relations between Great Britain and China were strained, and a few years later the two countries were at war. Even in 1879, when the last Chinese immigrant-ship reached Georgetown, it cannot be said that satisfactory diplomatic and commercial relations had been established between China and the West. The murder of Mr. Margary of the British Consular service had occurred as recently as 1874; and in 1881, war between China and Russia was narrowly averted; and, in 1884, war actually broke out between China and France. The fact is that not until the Boxer outbreak was suppressed, in 1900, did the Mandarinate realize that, if the Chinese Empire was to escape dismemberment, there must be reform. The Empress-Dowager herself became a convert to the new propaganda, reform edicts were issued, and a constitution promised. Then, three years ago, China became, nominally at least, a republic; and now, under the influence of Japan, she is endeavouring so to modify her ancient system of government, and the civilisation of which it is an outgrowth, as to take her place among the progressive nations of the world. There is, therefore, some reason to hope that the Chinese Government of to-day would approach

an important economic problem, such as that of emigration, in a more enlightened spirit than did the Tsung-li Yamên in the years between 1866 and 1879.

(e) **Growth of Hong-kong.** One other point must not be overlooked, namely, that in 1853 and 1879, when the first and the last

Chinese immigrant-ships came to Demerara, Hongkong was not, as it now is, one of the largest ports of commerce in the whole world. In 1853 the tonnage entering and clearing at Hongkong was 477,053 tons: in 1879 it was 4,964,339 tons: while in 1912 it was 36,735,149 tons. Similarly in 1853 the population of Hongkong was 39,017: in 1879 it was 140,144: while in 1912 it was 456,739. In 1853 Hongkong was not yet financially self-supporting and received an imperial subsidy of £9,500: and in 1879 the revenue of the Colony was \$964,095 Mex.: while in 1912 it was \$8,180,694 Mex. The number of emigrants from Hongkong in 1853 is not known, but in 1855 (the first year for which the Hongkong Government has emigration statistics) the number of emigrants was 14,683: in 1879 the number was 33,529: while in 1912 it was 122,657. It is important not to forget the fact that the phenomenally rapid development of Hongkong to its present prosperity chiefly took place after Chinese immigration to British Guiana had come to an end.

(f) **Chinese community already established in British Guiana.** Finally, if Chinese emigration to British Guiana were at any future date revived, the newcomers would find an influential community of their fellow-countrymen established for two generations in the Colony.

How different it was in 1853, when the first batch

of 647 Chinese labourers arrived here, unaccompanied by women or children, ignorant of the country, ignorant of the language, and with only three indifferent interpreters among them ! There is little doubt that the Chinese now in Demerara would welcome further immigration from China, and would do all that lay in their power to assist the newly arrived immigrants ; for racial solidarity is one of the most marked characteristics of Chinese all the world over.

**Views of
Messrs.
White,
Lobscheid,
Austin,
Sampson
and Firth.**

If, then, Chinese immigration into this Colony were to be revived, what is the course which should be pursued ? On this subject there was no difference of opinion among all those who gained in China practical experience of emigration to the British West Indies. Mr. J. T.

White pointed out that no emigration from China would be safe or satisfactory until emigrants returned to their homes with favourable accounts of the West Indies. " If," he wrote, " the accounts " be favourable, the emigration may become to a " great extent self-supporting, for thousands will " be eager to emigrate, and will gladly undertake " to pay at least a portion of the passage money, " as soon as their confidence has been secured." Mr. Lobscheid hoped to establish a voluntary emigration of Chinese to the West Indies by taking with him to China such Chinese labourers from Trinidad and British Guiana as might be selected to return as delegates to their countrymen ; and he suggested that the " Government " should give to immigrants coming to the Colony " at their own expense, free of charge, two or " more acres of land as a compensation for their " passage money." Mr. J. G. Austin threw out

the suggestion that there should be no contract at all in connexion with the Chinese emigration to Demerara, but that the Colony should offer absolute freedom as a set-off to the gold offered by the Cuban planters. Mr. Sampson looked forward to the time when there would be as regular an influx of Chinese to the West Indies, unfettered with contracts and at their own expense, as takes place to the Straits Settlements. Mr. Firth also was an advocate of "independent, voluntary emigration" from China to Demerara; and it was at his suggestion that one ship-load of emigrants, under no contract of service, actually came to the Colony in 1879.

**Views of
Sir T.
Wade and
Sir B.
Robertson.**

The opinion of the Colony's emigration agents on this point was fully shared by Sir Thomas Wade and Sir Brooke Robertson, when respectively holding the posts of British Minister at Peking, and British Consul at Canton. The latter wrote on the 5th March, 1873:—"I am convinced that but one thing is wanting to supply the labour-market of any British Colony with a respectable and industrious body of emigrants and that is facility of transit to and fro: for the Chinese are an enterprising race and will go wherever they can prosper or do well, as California, Australia and the Straits Settlements testify. I venture to submit also that a direct to and fro communication should be a Government measure, irrespective of conditions on the part of land-proprietors or their agents, and undertaken with the view of the great benefit that will hereafter accrue to the islands" (that is the British West Indies). Similarly Sir Thomas Wade wrote from Peking on the 26th June, 1873:—"If our Colonies really

require Chinese labour, they must prepare themselves for some measure that will bring about voluntary emigration from this country. ' It may cost money in the first instance : but, the tide once set flowing, the colonies will no more want for hands than Singapore, Batavia, Australia or California." Again on the 22nd October, 1873, Sir Thomas wrote :—" Both Mr. Sampson and Sir B. Roberston are as clearly of opinion as myself that the colonies will act more wisely by themselves and more fairly by the coolies, if they agree to surrender engagement under contract and rely entirely upon voluntary emigration." And in a further despatch, dated the following day, he added :—" The grand desideratum is the assurance of a tide of emigration ; and, if it be true, as Mr. Sampson affirms, that the majority of those he is now engaging care simply to secure a passage to the Colony, confident that once there, they will make their money as others have done, the provision of free passages without contract is, at least, deserving consideration. The tide once set flowing again there would hardly be any necessity for agencies on the mainland. Coolies would proceed, as they now do to various parts of the world, from Hongkong direct ; their shipment and accommodation on board being cared for, in such wise as to bar all complaint, by the Hongkong Government."

Views of West India Association of Glasgow. The same idea, which appealed so strongly to British representatives in China, found favour also with the West India Association of Glasgow, whose chairman, Mr. H. E. Crum Ewing, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle on the 24th November, 1862, that the Association, " representing the views of

"the producers of not far short of one-sixth of the crop of Demerara and nearly one-half of Trinidad," considered a continuous importation of foreign labourers to be essential to their prosperity, while from the general character of the Chinese, and from the experience they had of the industrious habits of certain importations (probably from country districts) they concluded that no class of labourers were so likely to contribute to the permanent prosperity of the West Indies. The Association was anxious, therefore, to give the Chinese every encouragement, having strong hopes that, as they became acquainted with the habits of the country and its agriculture, they might settle down as colonists, and might ere long become the farmers of a portion of the lands, as they did extensively in the Straits of Malacca. "For my own part," added Mr. Crum Ewing, "were Chinese immigration once put on a proper footing, I see nothing to prevent as regular an influx of these people to the West Indies, unfettered with contract and at their own expense, or only partly supplemented, as takes place to Australia."

Remarkable consensus of opinion.

In British Guiana such suggestions as these were regarded at the time as too Utopian to merit serious consideration, but the matter was actually put to the proof in the case of the *Dartmouth* in 1878-9, with results which were satisfactory and even encouraging. Unfortunately, however, the *Dartmouth* was the last Chinese immigrant-ship which came to British Guiana, and the experiment was abruptly discontinued: but, in view of the remarkable consensus of opinion on the part of those best qualified by practical experience, both in China and in the Colony, to see the problem in its true light, it is evident that

any further experiment should be upon the lines above indicated. There are, of course, the difficulties in connection with "independent, voluntary emigration from China to Demerara," which Mr. Firth pointed out in his letter of the 10th July, 1875,* but Mr. Firth, who saw these difficulties very clearly, was himself a strong advocate of such an emigration. Indeed it was his advice which led to the experiment made in the case of the *Dartmouth*.

Briefly, the facts stand thus. Contract emigration is an inversion of the process of nature; for it means that by a purely artificial organization the surplus labour of one country is exported to another country. It does not establish any commercial or other intercourse between the two countries, least of all when the countries are on opposite sides of the globe and the emigrants are not provided with return-passages. The natural process demands, in the first place, facility of transit between the countries concerned. Facility of transit brings with it commerce, and spreads in each country knowledge of the other. The law of supply and demand then takes effect; and the country, which has an excessive population, supplies the demand of the sparsely populated country as naturally and inevitably as, when a connecting channel has been cut, the overflow of water from a higher level gravitates to a lower level. The tide of emigration once set flowing, both countries benefit; the one because emigration makes the struggle for existence less severe, the other because immigration peoples the land,

* See Chapter XI, *supra*.

thereby making the progress and development possible. Like Sir Brooke Robertson, I am convinced that but one thing is needed to people British Guiana with a respectable and industrious body of Chinese immigrants, and that is cheap and rapid means of communication between China and Demerara. I will go further and add that, had the money spent on contract immigration from China to British Guiana been spent instead on providing such means of communication, the Chinese community in this Colony to-day would be fifty-fold its present numbers : for, as Leigh Hunt quaintly says, " Nature loves a decent investment."



APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Form of Clearing Certificate. (Prescribed by Section 8 of Ordinance No. 20 of 1851.)
CLEARING CERTIFICATE of the Emigration Agent at Station at

Name of Ship.	Name of Master.	Tons per Register.	Aggregate number of superficial feet in the several compartments set apart for Passengers.	Total number of statute adults, exclusive of master, crew, and cabin passengers, the ship can legally carry.	Sailing from	Intending to touch at	Bound to

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify that the foregoing appear to be the burthen and dimensions of the above-named vessel, and that, having regard as well to space as to tonnage, the greatest number of passengers she can carry by the Passengers' Act, 1849, is
 and I further certify, that to the best of my knowledge and belief she is in all respect seaworthy, and that the provisions, water, and stores actually laden on board have been duly surveyed, and are sufficient in quantity as well for the number of passengers now about to proceed in her, as for the crew, and that the same are of proper quality, and in good and sweet condition; and lastly, that all the directions contained in the Immigration Ordinance of British Guiana, and also in the Passengers, Act, 1849, so far as such Act applies to said vessel, for securing the health and safety of the passengers, have been duly complied with.

Dated at this day of 1850.

(Signed) A.B. Emigration Agent for

APPENDIX B.

FORM OF CONTRACT USED BY Mr. J. G. AUSTIN.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT made this day of in the year of the Christian Era being the day of the month of the year of the reign of Hienfung, according to the Chinese Imperial Calendar, between, a native of China, of the one part, and John Gardiner Austin, Special Agent of the British Government for the regulating and encouragement of Emigration from China to the British West Indies, of the other part, as follows :—The said in consideration of the covenants, agreements and stipulations hereinafter entered into by the said J. G. Austin, doth hereby promise and agree to and with the said J. G. Austin, his executors, administrators and assigns, in manner and form following, that is to say :—

1. That he the said shall and will, so soon as he shall be required by the said J. G. Austin, embark on board the British Ship now lying at anchor in and bound for the British Colony of and remain on board the said ship henceforward until she proceeds to sea, and shall then proceed as a passenger on board the said Ship to aforesaid, for the purpose of carrying out the stipulations hereinafter contained on the part of the said

2. That the said shall and will from time to time and at all times during the term of five years, to be computed from the day of the arrival of the said ship in the said

Colony of, well, faithfully, and diligently, and according to the best of his skill and ability, work and serve as an agricultural labourer in the said Colony of, according to the provisions hereinafter contained.

3. That the said shall and will work as such labourer as aforesaid for the space of (seven) hours and a half of each day during the aforesaid term of five years, on such Estate as may be pointed out by the Governor of the said Colony of, with a reservation of not less than 5 days to be set apart during each year as holidays at the China new year by the said Governor, and of every Sabbath day. And in consideration of the Agreement herein contained on the part of the said the said J. G. Austin hereby promises and agrees to and with the said in manner following, that is to say :—

4. That the said J. G. Austin shall provide the said with a free passage to the said Colony of, and shall supply him gratuitously with such food and clothing as may be necessary for the voyage.

5. That so long as the said shall continue and be employed as such agricultural labourer as aforesaid, and perform the Agreements on his part hereinfere contained, he the said J. G. Austin shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid to the said wages at the rate of four dollars per calendar month, and shall provide or cause to be provided for the said during the same service, food, house, garden ground, and medical attendance, all free of expense to the said, provided always and it is hereby agreed that it shall be at the option of the said at any time within twelve months of his arrival in the said Colony of

....., to elect to be paid for his services by the task, in the same way as all labourers not under special contract for service for terms of years in the said Colony ; and that in the event of the said electing to be paid as last herein- before mentioned, then and in such case the said shall not be entitled to receive food, but house, garden ground, and medical attendance shall still be furnished to him free of charge.

6. That the said J. G. Austin shall on demand of the said, so soon as he shall embark on board the said ship for the purpose of carrying out the terms of this Agreement, make an advance on account of wages to the said to the extent of dollars, shall pay or cause to be paid monthly to the assigns or nominees of the said in China, one part of the wages to be earned by the said in the said Colony of, the first payment to be made on the day of the date of the embarkation of the said on board the said ship ; Provided always and it is hereby agreed that any sum so advanced to the said as aforesaid, shall be stopped or deducted out of the wages to be earned by the said at the rate of one dollar per month, and that any payments so made as aforesaid monthly to the assigns or nominees of the said in China, shall be stopped or deducted in equal amounts monthly from the wages to be earned by the said

7. That the said shall be at liberty to determine this Agreement at the expiration of the first or any subsequent year of its subsistence upon payment of a sum of money equal to the cost of his passage from China to the said Colony

of, namely, 75 dollars, subject to a deduction of one-fifth of the said amount for and in respect of each year during which the said shall have served as such agricultural labourer as aforesaid, under the terms of this agreement.

8. That the said J. G. Austin shall provide or cause to be provided for the said during such period as he continues to serve under the terms of this Agreement, the means of corresponding monthly free of expense with his relatives in China, and of remitting money to them.

Signed (.....)

Signed (.....)

This done in duplicate each of the parties retaining one copy at on the day of in the year of Our Lord 18... in the presence of the undersigned, who declare that this Contract has been signed willingly and with full knowledge of its contents by the said (.....).



APPENDIX C.

EMIGRATION REGULATIONS MADE BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE LIANG KUANG PROVINCES IN NOVEMBER, 1861.

REGULATIONS for Labour Emigration established by the British and French Authorities on the 1st March, 1861, are now amended as follows :—

These are the Regulations under which Offices or Houses may be established at the City of Canton for promoting the voluntary emigration of Chinese subjects to foreign countries as labourers.

1. Any person intending to open an Emigration House must first report his name and surname, his nationality and his intended plan of operations to his Consul for communication to the Governor-General.

2. The person intending to open the Emigration House is to report the emigration business which he intends conducting as also the rules of the House, and the engagements to be entered into with the several emigrants, and is to await sanction before carrying them into effect. Any subsequent additions to, or alterations of, the rules must be reported to the Consul and Governor-General for inspection and approval.

Further, any placards or hand-bills which the Emigration Agent may wish to post up or distribute within or without the City must first be examined and approved by his Consul and by the Governor-General.

The watchman and other necessary Servants of the Emigration House are to be hired by the Master of the House,* and to be directed to keep up inspection by day and night. The names in full of all the Chinese or foreign employes of all classes are to be reported to the Governor-General for his information.

3. The rules as sanctioned by the proper Consul, and by the Governor-General, as also the agreement to be entered into by the emigrant are to be hung up at every entrance of the Emigration House and in the Emigrants' quarters so that they may be easily known.

4. The Master of the Emigration House is to provide a suitable room therein as an office for the use of the debuted Officer (the Inspector) to be sent by the Governor-General. The said Inspector will visit every portion of the Emigration House every day to make inspection and the Master of the House will enter in a book the name and surname, the age and the family residence of intending emigrants ; and will arrange the emigrants in rows, so that the Inspector may inspect them and see whether each person is provided with a copy of the agreement. The Inspector will then explain distinctly the agreement to the emigrants and will tell them of all other Rules, &c., so that they may all know and be fully informed.

The inspector is also to see that the quarters assigned to the emigrants are in all parts clean, light and airy. If both male and female emigrants are received, those persons who are accompanied by the female members of their families are to be allotted suitable quarters, which must in all cases be separate from those of the single male emigrants, so that disorder may be obviated. The

doors of the Emigration House are all to be open from sunrise to sunset, and hours are to be fixed within which the emigrants are to have free exit and entrance. These hours will be determined by the Inspector.

5. If an emigrant in an Emigration House is guilty of misbehaviour, or of any offence against the law, the person in charge of the House may keep him in confinement to await the arrival and decision of the Inspector, but until the Inspector has made a report to the Governor-General no one is to take upon himself to administer correction in the Emigration House.

6. The Inspector is every afternoon to inspect and interrogate persons wishing to emigrate. For the signing of engagements there are to be two times in every week, or more than two at the Inspector's discretion. A labourer is not to be permitted to sign the engagement until at least four days after his arrival at the Emigration House.

7. When a labourer enters into the engagement his signature must be made in the presence of the Inspector. The intended time of signing is to be communicated beforehand by the Master of the Emigration House to the Consul of his nation. At the time of signing the Inspector is to ascertain distinctly from each of the labourers whether he assents to every provision of the agreement, and whether he wishes to sign. Before the signing the Inspector is again to read out the several articles of agreement so that the Emigrant may know them. At the time of signing, the Master of the Emigration House is to hand over to the labourer the sum of advance money stated in the agreement. After receiving this the labourer is to comply with the directions

of the Master of the House as regards being allowed to go out side or not, or as regards immediate embarkation.

8. An embarkation list is to be kept at every Emigration House on which the Manager of the House is to enter severally the names of all intending emigrants, after they have signed their agreements. This list, as also the agreements, must be authenticated by the Inspector's signature ; upon which the emigrants may be embarked in accordance with the list.

When the ship is full, the Inspector will make a certificate that all the labourers mentioned in the list have been duly engaged as emigrants in accordance with the Regulations. The Emigration Manager will then pay into the Custom House Bank a fee of two dollars for every coolie and will take a receipt. This money will be appropriated to the payment of the Inspector's expenses (or will be handed to him for expenses). The Inspector will give a receipt for it, and will send the embarkation list to the Superintendent of Customs (Hoppon) who will send a qualified officer to the ship to make due examination and ascertain that there are no other coolies on board than those mentioned in the list. Only after this has been done will the grand chop be issued, and the ship allowed to sail.

9. If, after the embarkation, the Governor-General and the proper Consul should deem it advisable under any circumstances to relieve any coolie from the obligation to emigrate, the Manager shall be directed to permit him to give back his engagement, which shall be cancelled. And the coolie so failing to proceed on the voyage is to repay to the Manager the advance paid him in money, and the expenses, up to the

limit of eight dollars, incurred for his food, clothing, etc., in the Emigration Home or on board the ship.

10. All persons employed by Managers of Emigration Houses or their deputies, or by Government Superintendents (? Emigration Agents) to go about and collect emigrants, must first go to the proper Consul, and to the Governor-General, and the office of the local Magistrate, to report themselves and be registered, and must obtain a written licence from the Governor-General authorising their being so employed. Such persons excepted, no one is permitted to conduct emigrants to an emigration House and receive from the assistants a reward for so doing.

If the persons holding the licence be guilty of a breach of the Regulations or of any other misconduct, on discovery thereof the Assistant (or Deputy Manager) will be held responsible, and be rigorously punished.

11. When the Master of an Emigration House engages a ship to convey emigrants abroad, he must first obtain from the Hoppo a certificate stating that the vessel is suitable for the purpose. The certificate will have to contain the following matters :—

(1) A statement of the number of emigrants whom the vessel can accommodate.

(2) The dimensions of the space allotted to the emigrants.

(3) Whether the vessels is staunch and strong or not.

(4) What number of boats she carries for security against disaster.

No emigrants are allowed to be sent on board until this certificate has been granted.

12. Further regulations may be made from time to time for the better management of the emigration business, or for the benefit of the labourers, by the Governor General in consultation with the Consuls, and will be of equal authority with these.

13. Any breach of the Regulations above or of such as may hereafter be made, may be punished by fining the { Master* } of the Emigration House according to circumstances, or by closing the House.

Translated by
(Signed) W. Gregory

* Note.—A word is apparently omitted in the Chinese.



APPENDIX D.

CONVENTION TO REGULATE THE ENGAGEMENT OF CHINESE EMIGRANTS BY BRITISH AND FRENCH SUBJECTS.

The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of China having requested that, in accordance with the terms of Conventions signed at Peking, the 24th and 25th of October, 1860, a set of Regulations should be framed to secure to Chinese emigrants those safeguards which are required for their moral and physical well-being; the following, after due discussion and deliberation at the Yamèn of Foreign Affairs, have been adopted by the Undersigned, and will henceforth be in force.

REGULATIONS.

Article i. Any person desiring to open an emigration agency in any port in China, must address an application in writing to that effect to his Consul, inclosing at the same time copy of the rules which he proposes to observe in his establishment, copy of the contract which he offers to emigrants, together with the necessary proofs that he has complied with all the conditions imposed by the laws of his country regulating emigration.

Article ii. The Consul after having assured himself of the solvency and respectability of the applicant, and having examined and approved the copies of the rules and contracts, shall communicate them to the

Chinese authorities and shall request them to issue the licence necessary for opening an emigration agency.

The licence, together with the rules and contracts as approved by the Chinese authorities, will be registered at the Consulate.

No licence to open an emigration agency shall be withdrawn except upon sufficient grounds, and then only with the sanction of the Consul. In such a case the emigration agent shall have no claim to compensation for the closing of his establishment and the suspension of his operations.

No modification of the rules and contracts when once approved by the Consul and by the Chinese authorities shall be made without their express consent ; and in order that no emigrant may be ignorant of them the said rules and contracts shall in all cases be posted up on the door of the emigration agency and in the quarters of the emigrants.

The emigration agent shall be allowed to circulate and make generally known in the towns and villages of the Province copies of these rules and contracts which must in all cases bear the seals of the Chinese authorities and of the Consulate.

Every emigration agent shall be held responsible under the laws of his country for the due execution of the clauses of the contract signed by him until its expiration.

Every Chinese employed by the emigration agent to find him emigrants, shall be provided with a special licence from the Chinese authorities, and

he alone will be responsible for any act done by him in the above capacity that may be, whether intentionally or unintentionally, in contravention of the laws of the Empire.

Every Chinese wishing to emigrate
Article vii. under an engagement shall cause his name to be entered in a register kept for that purpose, in the presence of the emigration agent and of an inspector deputed by the Chinese Government. He will then be at liberty to return to his home or to remain in the emigration depôt to wait the departure of the ship which is to carry him to his destination.

The contracts shall specify :—
Article viii. 1st. The place of destination and the length of the engagement.

2nd. The right of the emigrant to be conveyed back to his own country, and the sum which shall be paid at the expiration of his contract to cover the expense of his voyage home and that of his family should they accompany him.

3rd. The number of working days in the year and the length of each day's work.

4th. The wages, rations, clothing, and other advantages promised to the emigrant.

5th. Gratuitous medical attendance.

6th. The sum which the emigrant agrees to set aside out of his monthly wages for the benefit of persons to be named by him, should he desire to appropriate any sum to such a purpose.

7th. Copy of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 14th, and 22nd articles of these regulations.

Any clause which shall purport to render invalid any of the provisions of this regulation is null and void.

The term of each emigrant's engagement shall not exceed five years, at the expiration of which the sum stipulated in the contract shall be paid for him to cover the expense of his return to his country. In the event of his obtaining permission to remain without an engagement in this colony, this sum will be placed in his own hands.

It shall always be at the option of the emigrant to enter into a second engagement of five years, for which he shall be paid a premium equivalent to one-half the cost of his return to China. In such a case the sum destined to cover the expense of his return home shall not be paid until the expiration of his second engagement.

Every emigrant who may become invalided and incapable of working shall be allowed, without waiting for the expiration of his contract, to claim, before the legal courts of the colony or territory where he may be, payment on his behalf of the sum destined to cover the expense of his return to China.

The emigrant shall in no case be forced to work more than six days out of seven, nor more than nine hours and a half in the day.

The emigrant shall be free to arrange with his employer the conditions of work by the piece or job, and of all extra labour undertaken during days and hours set apart for rest.

The obligation on holidays to attend to cattle or to do such services as the necessities of daily life may demand, shall not be considered as labour.

No engagement to emigrate entered into by any Chinese subject under twenty years of age, will be valid unless he produce a certificate from the proper

Chinese authorities stating that he has been authorised to contract such engagement by his parents, or in a default of his parents, by the magistrate of the port at which he is to embark.

After four days, but not less, from
Article xii. the date of the entry of the emigrant's name on the register of the agency, the officer deputed by the Chinese Government being present, the contract shall be read to the emigrant, and he shall be asked whether he agrees to it, and having answered in the affirmative he shall then and there append his signature thereto.

The contract once signed, the emigrant is at the disposal of the agent,
Article xiii. and must not absent himself from the dépôt without the permission of the agent.

Before embarking, every emigrant shall be called before the officer deputed by the Chinese authorities to ratify his contract, which shall be registered at the Consulate.

Twenty-four hours before the sailing of the ship, the emigrants shall be mustered on board before the Consul and the Inspector of Customs, or their deputies; and the list shall be finally closed for signature and registration by the Consul and the Inspector.

Any individual refusing to proceed after this muster shall be bound to repay the expenses of his maintenance in the Emigration Dépôt at the rate of one hundred cash (one-tenth of a tael) *per diem*. In default of payment he shall be handed over to the Chinese Magistrate to be punished according to the laws.

Any sum handed over to the emigrant before his departure shall only be regarded in the light of the premium upon his engagement. All advances upon his future wages are formally forbidden except in the case of their being appropriated to the use of his family, and the Consul will take especial pains and provide against their being employed in any other way. Such advances shall not exceed six months' wages, and shall be covered by a stoppage of one dollar per month until the entire debt shall have been paid.

It is absolutely forbidden, whether on the voyage or during the emigrant's stay in the colony or territory in which he may be employed, to make any advances to him in money or kind payable after the expiration of his engagement. Any agreement of this nature shall be null and void, and shall give the creditor no power to oppose the return of the emigrant to his country at the time fixed by the contract.

The emigrant during his stay in the depôt shall be bound to conform to the regulations adopted for its internal economy by the Consul and the Chinese authorities.

Any emigrant who may be riotous or guilty of any misconduct shall be immediately locked up until the arrival of the officers deputed by the Chinese authorities, to whom he will be handed over to be punished in conformity with the laws of the Empire; the officers of the agency being in no case authorized to take the law into their own hands and inflict any punishment.

Article xvii. The deputies of the Consul and of the Chinese authorities shall at all times be empowered to demand admittance to the Agency, and to summon the emigrants before them for the purpose of interrogation.

They will be present at the signing of the contracts and at the embarkation of the coolies.

They will see to the maintenance of order, to the healthiness and cleanliness of the rooms destined to receive the emigrants, to the separation of the families and women, and to the arrangements on board the transport-ships.

They may at any time demand that Experts of Medical Officers shall be called in, in order to verify any defects which they may have remarked ; they may suspend the embarkation of emigrants in ships the arrangements on board of which may seem to them defective, and they may reject coolies afflicted with contagious diseases.

Article xviii. The Emigration Agent shall be bound to pay into the Customs Bank the sum of three dollars for every male adult entered on the list of coolies embarked, to meet the expenses of inspection.

Article xix. Any emigrant claimed by the Chinese Government as an offender against the law shall be handed over to the authorities, without opposition, through the Consul ; and in such case the whole sum expended for the maintenance of the emigrants in the Agency or on board ship shall be repaid immediately to the Emigration Agent, at the rate of one hundred cash (one-tenth of a tael) *per diem*.

The sum of the premium, advances, clothes, &c., entered in the Agency Register against such

emigrant shall in like manner be repaid by the Chinese Government.

The Emigration Agent shall not be
Article xx. at liberty to embark emigrants on board any ship which shall not have satisfied the Consul that, in respect of its internal economy, stores, and sanitary arrangements, all the conditions required by the laws of the country to which the said ship may belong are fulfilled.

Should the Chinese authorities, upon the reports of the officers deputed by them, conceive it their duty to protest against the embarkation of a body of emigrants in a ship approved by the Consuls, it shall be in the power of the Customs to suspend the granting of the ship's port-clearance until further information shall have been obtained, and until the final decision of the Legation of the country to which the suspected ship belongs shall have been pronounced.

On arrival of the ship at her destination
Article xxi. the duplicate of the list of emigrants shall be presented by the Captain to be viséd by his Consul and by the local authorities.

In the margin and opposite to the name of each emigrant, note shall be made of deaths, births, and diseases during the voyage, and of the destination assigned to each emigrant in the colony or territory in which he is to be employed.

This document shall be sent by the Emigration Agent to the Consul at the port at which the emigrants embarked, and by him delivered to the Chinese authorities.

In the distribution of the emigrants
Article xxii. As labourers, the husband shall not be separated from his wife, nor shall parents be separated from their children being under fifteen years of age.

No labourer shall be bound to change his employer without his consent, except in the event of the factory or plantation upon which he is employed changing hands.

His Imperial Highness the Prince of Kung has further declared in the name of the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of China :—

1st. That the Chinese Government throws no obstacle in the way of free emigration, that is to say, to the departure of Chinese subjects embarking of their own free will and at their own expense for foreign countries, but that all attempts to bring Chinese under an engagement to emigrate, otherwise than as the present regulations provide, are formally forbidden, and will be prosecuted with the extreme rigour of the law.

2nd. That a law of the Empire punishes by death those who, by fraud or by force, may kidnap Chinese subjects for the purpose of sending them abroad against their will.

3rd. That whereas the operations of Emigration Agents with a view to the supply of coolie labour abroad are authorized at all the open ports, when conducted in conformity with these regulations, and under the joint supervision of the Consuls and the Chinese authorities, it follows that where this joint supervision cannot be exercised, such operations are formally forbidden.

These declarations are here placed on record, in order that they may have the same force and

validity 'as the Regulations contained in the twenty-two Articles foregoing.

Done and signed 'at Peking in triplicate, the 5th of March, 1866.

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK,
(L.S.)

Seal and Signature of

PRINCE KUNG.

(Signed) HENRI DE BELLONET.
(L.S.)



APPENDIX E.

REDRAFT OF EMIGRATION CONVENTION PRESENTED TO TSUNG-LI YAMÊN, BY THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND SPANISH MINISTERS AT PEKING, ON 1st APRIL, 1868.

ART. I. In every Province of China where Emigration is carried on the Governor-General shall appoint a Chinese Officer who, under the title of Superintendent of Emigration, shall take charge either personally or by deputy of all matters relating to emigration. This officer shall receive a remuneration, the funds for which shall be provided by the Emigration Agency. To provide these each Emigration Agent having an establishment shall pay into the Customs at the port the sum of \$2 for each adult coolie shipped exclusive of women and children.

ART. II. Any person desiring to open an Emigration Agency in any port in China must address an application to that effect to his Consul, enclosing at the same time copy of the rules which he proposes to observe in his establishment and copy of the contract which he offers to the emigrants.

ART. III. The Consul after having assured himself of the solvency and respectability of the applicant and having approved the copies of the rules shall communicate them to the Superintendent and request him to issue the necessary license for opening an Emigration Agency. The license together with the rules shall be registered at the Consulate.

ART. IV. No license to open an Agency shall be withdrawn except for grave reasons, and then only with the sanction of the Consul. In such case, the Emigration Agent shall have no claim to compensation for the closing of his establishment and the suspension of his operations.

ART. V. No modification of the rules when once approved by the Consul and the Superintendent or Inspector of Emigration shall be made without their express consent, and they shall in all cases be posted up on the door of the Emigration Agency, and in the quarters of the emigrants. The Emigration Agents shall be allowed to circulate and make generally known in the towns and villages of the province copies of these rules and the contracts they offer. These copies must in all cases have the seals of the Superintendent of Emigration and of the Consulate.

ART. VI. Every Chinese employed by the Emigration Agent or factor or recruiter must be provided with a special license from the Chinese authorities and he alone will be responsible to them for any contravention of the laws of the Empire which may have been committed voluntarily or involuntarily in the recruiting of the men presented by him.

ART. VII. Every Chinese wishing to emigrate under an engagement shall cause his name to be inscribed in a register kept for that purpose in the presence of the Emigration Agent and of the Chinese officer deputed by the Provincial Superintendent of Emigration. He will then have the choice of either returning to his home or of waiting in a primary depôt attached to the Agency until he is finally engaged and his contract signed.

ART. VIII. Every Emigration Agency shall be divided into two or more separate houses. One or more to be used as a primary depôt, the rest to be occupied by the men who have already signed their contracts and been finally engaged. The vessel destined to carry the emigrants may be used as a final depôt when the propriety of such an arrangement shall be recognised by the Consul and by the Superintendent of Emigration.

ART. IX. Every man who shall come himself to the depôt and express his intention to emigrate or shall be brought there by the factors employed by the Agency shall immediately receive a copy of the contract which is offered to him, and which must besides be always posted on the walls, both outside and inside, of all the houses belonging to the Agency and in the quarters of the emigrants. He shall be allowed to come and to go freely. He shall be maintained at the expense of the Agency and must remain at least three days in this house before he can be allowed to sign his contract and pass into the final depôt.

The doors of the primary depôt shall be at all times open either to the Superintendent of Emigration himself or to the Chinese officer deputed by him, in order that he may inspect it himself or have it inspected and thus assure himself that the expectant emigrants know what they are doing and understand the contract which is offered to them.

The Emigration Agent shall, however, always have the right to be present during these inspections either in person or by deputy.

ART. X. Chinese of less than sixteen years of age may be received like the others at the primary depôt, but shall not be admitted to the final depôt to contract a valid engagement, unless they

produce a Certificate* from the Superintendent of Emigration stating that they are authorised by their parents to contract such engagement, or, if not by their parents, by the Magistrate of the port of embarkation.

ART. XI. As soon as a sufficient number of men willing to be finally registered shall be at the primary depôt, they shall be taken in the final depôt where the Superintendent of Emigration, due notice having been given him, shall either be present himself or be represented by a deputy to witness the registration. The Superintendent or his deputy shall interrogate these men, one by one, and thus assure himself that they leave voluntarily and understand the terms of their contract. Those who may show hesitation shall be separated from the others for further examination or sent away. After which those who have taken their decision shall sign their contract and can then be paid, should they desire it, an advance on their salaries or a part of the sum promised as a premium upon engagement and receive clothes. The Consul or his deputy shall also witness the final registration and the signature of the contract, which shall be registered at the Consulate.

ART. XII. The Consul and the Superintendent of Emigration or their respective deputies shall, at all times, be empowered to enter both depôts and to summon the emigrants before them for the purpose of interrogation in the presence of the Agent of Emigration or his deputy. They will see to the maintenance of order and to the healthiness and cleanliness of the Agency. It is to be understood that either the Superintendent or Consul are authorised to act by deputy, yet the responsibility in every case remains with themselves.

ART. XIII. The contract once signed, the emigrant is at the disposal of the agent and must not absent himself from the depôt without his permission. He shall be bound to conform during his stay in the Agency to the Police Regulations for its internal economy approved by the Consul and the Superintendent of Emigration.

Emigrants who may be riotous or guilty of any misconduct shall be immediately locked up until the arrival of the officers deputed by the Superintendent of Emigration, to whom they shall be handed over for punishment according to the laws of the Empire. They shall be returned to the depôt after having undergone their punishment according to the laws of the Empire. The punishment inflicted on them shall be notified to the Consul. The officers of the Agency shall in no case have the power to inflict any punishment themselves.

ART. XIV. Any emigrant claimed either by the Superintendent of Emigration or directly by the Magistrate, as, having escaped from prison, or as having been condemned or summoned for offending against the law, shall be given up without opposition through the Consul as soon as all sums expended for his maintenance shall have been paid to the Emigration Agent as well as the premiums, advances and clothes carried to the account of the individual in the register of the Agency.

The Emigration Agent shall in no case be held responsible for the debts which an emigrant may contract during his stay in either depôt, and the creditor's claim, if made up after the final registration and the signature of the contract, shall in no way hinder the departure of the emigrant.

ART. XV. As soon as a number of men, sufficient to fill the ship destined to transport

them, shall have been collected at the final depôt the Superintendent of Emigration and the Consul of the nation to which the ship belongs shall be notified thereof and shall present themselves either in person or by deputies at the depôt at latest twenty-four hours before the time for embarkation. A final interrogation of the Emigrants, in like manner as stated in Art. XI., shall then take place, after which the embarkation list shall be closed, to be signed and registered by the Consul and the Superintendent of Emigration. Any individual refusing to proceed, when his name is called, shall be allowed to go away, provided he repays to the Agency all expenses to which his engagement may have given rise together with the premium he may have received. If he is unable to do this, the Superintendent of Emigration or the Port Magistrate shall be at liberty to do so for him, failing this, the emigrant must embark.

ART. XVI. The Emigration Agents shall not be at liberty to embark emigrants on board any ship which shall not fulfil the conditions of internal economy, stores and sanitary condition laid down in the regulations forming No. 1 annexed to the present rules.

All vessels carrying Chinese passengers or coolies from port to port, lying between 90° and 130° East Longitude of the Meridian of Greenwich, are exempted from these regulations.

ART. XVII. The Emigration Agent shall not be at liberty to embark coolies without a special permit delivered by the Consul according to the form No. 2 annexed to the present rules. The Consul shall not issue this permit till he has assured himself that the contracts have been entered into according to regulation and in good

faith. It shall be his duty to oppose the embarkation of any emigrant who may be insane or affected with a contagious disease.

It shall be also the duty of the Consul to assure himself that the ships intended for the transport of the emigrants fulfil the conditions prescribed in the preceding article.

ART. XVIII. No ships shall be allowed to sail without a special authorisation, issued by the Consul of the nation to which she belongs, according to the form No. 3 annexed to the present Rules. Before issuing this authorisation it is the duty of the Consul to verify the condition indicated in the preceding Article as far as regards the conclusion of the contracts, the state of health of the passengers and the conditions of internal economy, stores and health which the vessel ought to fulfil.

ART. XIX. Should the respective Consuls refuse to authorise either the embarkation of the emigrants or the departure of the ship, assigning as a reason that the conditions prescribed in Art. XVI of the present Rules have not been properly fulfilled, the Emigration Agent or the captain of the ship may demand that experts or medical officers, nominated by the Consul of the nation to which the vessel may belong, shall be called in; and, if their decision is favourable, the authorisation must be granted.

ART. XX. On arrival of the ship at her destination the duplicate of the embarkation list shall be presented by the captain to be *visé* by his Consul and the Local Authorities.

In the margin and opposite the name of each emigrant note shall be made of deaths, births and diseases during the voyage.

This document shall be returned to the Emigration Agent at the port of embarkation who will

communicate it to the Chinese Superintendent of Emigration through his Consul.

ART. XXI. As English, French and Spanish subjects and vessels by the terms of conventions previously concluded enjoy the privileges of the most favoured nation, it is to be well understood that the Chinese Government shall not require them to conform to the rules established by the present arrangement, except in so far as the subjects and vessels of other nations shall be subjected to the same rules and shall conform to them in every circumstance.

ART. XXII. The present arrangement shall take effect in every port in China open to foreign commerce as soon as the approval of the several Governments shall be received. The contracting Powers reserve to themselves the right to introduce hereafter in common accord any modifications which may appear necessary. This right, however, shall not come into force until three whole years shall have elapsed from the day on which the present Act shall take effect.

ANNEX No. 1.—REGULATION.

1. Every Ship destined for the transport of Chinese emigrants must be thoroughly seaworthy, properly fitted and ventilated, provided with arms and manned by a crew sufficient in number for all eventualities. It must carry no cargo likely from its quality, quantity or manner of stowage to endanger the health or the safety of the passengers.

2. The space appropriated to the passengers in the 'tween decks shall contain at the least 12 superficial feet and 72 cubic feet for each adult passenger ; an emigrant older than 12 years shall

be considered as an adult, and two emigrants between the ages of 1 and 12 shall count as one adult.

3. A space of 5 superficial feet for each adult passenger shall be left clear on the upper deck for the use of the coolies.

4. The vessel shall be properly provisioned and provided with fuel and water of a good quality, properly packed and sufficient for the wants of the passengers during the voyage according to the following scale or such other as may be approved by the Consul of the nation to which the vessel belongs.

For each adult passenger

Rice	1½ lbs.
Salted provisions, wholly pork or 2/3 pork and 1/3 fish, or 1/3 pork, 1/3 beef, 1/3 fish	1½ lbs.
Salt vegetables or pickles	½ lb.
Water	3 Imp. Qrts.
Fire wood	2 lbs.
Tea	1/3 oz.

5. The ship shall carry a surgeon. The Consul of the nation to which the vessel belongs may, should he see fit, insist also on the engagement of an interpreter.

6. The vessel shall be provided in the proportion fixed by the Consul in accord with the Emigration Agent, according to the estimated length of the voyage with medicines, disinfecting fluids, surgical instruments and all things necessary for the care of the Emigrants during the voyage.

ANNEX No. 2.

I, H.B., Consul at hereby authorise the Emigration Agent to embark on

board the Ship bound for in
, Chinese Coolies of whom
 are more than 12 years of age, namely,
 males females,—and I certify that
 I have examined the Contracts for engagement of
 these emigrants and have found them according
 to regulations and the proceedings for their enrol-
 ment free from fraud.

I further certify that the space reserved for
 the emigrants on board the is as fol-
 lows :—

On the upper deck superficial feet
 and in the 'tween decks superficial feet ;
 that the vessel is properly armed and fitted,
 manned by a sufficient crew and that the ventilat-
 ing apparatus for that portion of the 'tween decks
 destined to the emigrants is That the
 vessel is provided in the regular proportions with
 medicines, disinfecting fluids, surgical instruments,
 and all other things necessary for the proper care
 of the passengers during the voyage.

L.S. (signed).....

Consul or Consular Agent

of at

ANNEX No. 3.

I, H.B., Consul, hereby authorise the Ship
 to proceed to sea bound for
 in and I certify that the said ship carries
 passengers of whom there are of more
 than 12 years of age namely men
 women and children between
 the ages of 1 and 12 namely, males and
 females ; that I have examined the
 contracts for engagement of these emigrants and

have found them according to regulation and the proceedings for their enrolment exempt from fraud.

I further certify that the space reserved for the emigrants on board the is as follows:— on the upper deck superficial feet, and in the 'tween decks superficial feet, that the vessel is properly armed and fitted and manned by a sufficient crew, and that the ventilating apparatus for that portion of the 'tween decks destined for the emigrants is, that the vessel is provided with stores, fuel, and good water, sufficient in quantity for the daily distribution to be made to the passengers, that there is on board a surgeon, and that the vessel is provided in the regular proportions with medicines, disinfecting fluids, surgical instruments and all other things necessary for the proper care of the passengers during the voyage.

I order the Master of the Ship to convey the passengers without delay to their destination, to serve out to them during the voyage rations, fuel and water according to the scale annexed hereto ; to make no alterations except for the evident advantage of the passengers, in the arrangements indicated above respecting either the space allowed them or the ventilation ; not to compel the passengers to assist in working the ship, except in case of necessity ; and to furnish them with any medicines which they may require.

L. S. (signed).....

Consul or Consular Agent

..... at

APPENDIX F.

FORM OF CONTRACT ADAPTED FROM CUBAN MODEL AND APPROVED BY GOVERNOR- GENERAL OF CANTON,

British Emigration,

5th February, 1873.

Rules to be observed by an Emigration Agency.

1. Whereas Mr. Sampson, British Emigration Agent, is at present desirous to engage Chinese labourers to proceed to British Guiana in the West Indies as contract coolies, it is ordained that he shall in the first instance forward a map of the said country to the Viceroy through Her Majesty's Consul, and the Emigration Agent aforesaid shall further report that the said territory is under British jurisdiction and what its distance is from Great Britain—by what countries it is bounded on all sides—what its distance is from the Province of Kuang-tung in the Empire of China, and the length of the sea voyage. He shall also engage that the labourers so hired shall be *bona fide* taken to the place above named, and that neither *en route* nor after arrival at destination shall the labourers be transferred against their wills to a different country or to any other spot.

2. The labourers who enter into contracts shall be examined by the officers deputed and by the Emigration Agent, who shall cause to be written down and described the contracting labourers' age and appearance, and these particulars shall be entered in a Register to be kept in triplicate, one to be archived at the Viceroy's

Yamên, one to be kept at the Emigration Agency, and the third to be forwarded by the Emigration Agent to the authorities at British Guiana. The Emigration Agent aforesaid shall further request the British authorities in Guiana at the end of each year to draw up statistics as to the following points.

1. The number of Chinese in British Guiana who are engaged in British Guiana as contract labourers. The number of Chinese residing in British Guiana who are not contract labourers. The number of Chinese who have died from disease or other causes.

2. The number of marriages. The number of births. The number of those who have returned to China, &c., &c. And these statistics shall be forwarded through Her Majesty's Consul to the Viceroy.

3. When the Emigration Agency has secured contract labourers, and when the said coolies are ready to embark on the vessel that is to carry them to British Guiana, they shall be examined, one by one, by the officers deputed by the Viceroy, Superintendent of Customs and Her Majesty's Consul, and by the local authorities, in order to ascertain that the said persons are willing to go to Guiana as contract labourers, and that there has been no constraint, kidnapping, fraud, substitution, or any other abuse. Whereupon they shall be permitted to proceed abroad in accordance with justice.

4. If the Emigration Agency shall employ brokers to proceed to various places to bring contract labourers, in accordance with the regulations, to the Office at Canton to sign their agreements, such brokers must obtain sealed licences from the local authorities before proceeding on the quest.

Furthermore, such brokers must be secured by reliable firms that on closing the emigration they shall return the sealed licences under penalty of the security being escheated.

Translated by
(Sd.) CHRIS. GARDNER.

Ship	No.
<p>Agreement between native of China and Theophilus Sampson, Esqr., acting as Agent for the Government of the Colony of British Guiana in the West Indies. Whereas the said T. Sampson has opened an Emigration Office at Canton for obtaining coolies for the Colony of British Guiana, I the said agree to go on board ship and to go to British Guiana and there to work on the terms set forth below :—</p>	

1. I agree to work in British Guiana as I may be directed by the Government Emigration Agent for any person to whom he may transfer this contract.

2. The period of service is five years, commencing from the day I begin to work, or if on my arrival I be too ill to work then it shall commence eight days after my recovery.

3. I agree to do any kind of work that I may be lawfully directed to do whether in town or country, in field, in factories, in private houses, &c.

4. I shall not be required to work on Sundays, unless I be employed as a domestic servant or to take care of cattle ; in which case and in all cases in which it is the local custom to do so, I must work on Sunday. In all other cases my time during Sunday shall be entirely at my disposal.

5. A day consists of 24 hours, and I may not be required to work more than nine and a half hours in one day. If I work more than nine and a half

hours one day, I may work an equal length of time on another, or if not, then my employer shall compensate me.

6. At the end of the five years' service my master will give me \$50 in lieu of a return passage to China. If at the expiration of the term of the contract I do not wish to return to China, and if the authorities of the place still permit me to reside in Guiana, in that case my master shall give me the \$50 stipulated in the contract for my own use ; and, if I wish to enter into another agreement for five years, half of the above sum, namely, \$25, will be given to me by my master as a bonus, and at the end of the second five years the original sum of \$50 will be paid to me in lieu of a return passage to China.

7. If after arrival I become incurably ill, so as to be unable to work, my master shall at once pay me the \$50 to assist me to return to China ; if my master does not do so, I may petition the authorities who shall on their part recover the money for me.

8. Wherever I may work or in whatever family I may be employed, I must obey the lawful regulations there in force ; on the other hand, should I at any time feel aggrieved at the conduct of my master towards me, all reasonable facility shall be afforded me for laying my complaint before the proper officers of the Colony.

9. When the contract shall have been signed and I have embarked, I cannot again return to the shore ; if urgent business requires me to do so, I must first obtain the consent of the said Theophilus Sampson, and then I may do so.

10. It is distinctly agreed that this Contract binds the coolie to go as a labourer to no other place than to British Guiana.

11. During the five years beginning on the day agreed on in this contract, the wages shall be four Spanish dollars a month, or the equivalent in gold, for which my master shall be responsible. The wages shall be paid every month and shall not be allowed to fall into arrear.

12. Every day food will be issued as follows :— 8 oz. salt meat and $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of other articles, all of which shall be good and wholesome.

13. In case of illness medical attendance and medicines and proper food will be provided free of expense till recovery ; no matter what such medical expenses may amount to, the master may make no deduction on account of them from the coolies' wages.

14. Each year there will be given to me one suit of clothes and one blanket.

15. Passage to British Guiana will be provided by the said Theophilus Sampson.

16. The said Theophilus Sampson will provide to the emigrant the sum of dollars, or the equivalent in gold, for the use of his family. This sum shall be repaid by the emigrant in British Guiana to the holder of the contract by deductions from his wages, at the rate of one dollar a month, till it all be repaid, but no further deductions from wages may be made. No debt that may be incurred by the coolie during the voyage or in British Guiana may be construed into a lien on his services, or availed of to prolong the period of service specified in this contract.

17. On embarkation three suits of clothes and everything necessary for the voyage will be provided for the emigrant free of expense to him. The clothes and articles thus provided to be considered a free gift. The coolie is to enjoy their use and is not to be called upon to return them.

18. While he is working in British Guiana he shall enjoy the protection of the laws of the place ; on his return, however, to China, this protection will be abrogated.

19. I, the said coolie, now agree that my wages shall be four dollars per month, and I declare my willingness before my departure to go to British Guiana ; it is therefore understood that hereafter, if I hear or ascertain that the labourers in British Guiana receive wages more than myself, I must still be satisfied with wages and other compensating advantages secured to me by this contract.

All the foregoing clauses were clearly understood, and were read and explained before the contract was signed ; both parties being willing and fully understanding the terms cannot hereafter complain that they were in ignorance thereof.

This Contract is signed in English, and a Chinese translation is annexed as a proof, each party holding a copy.

To this contract are appended the 8th, 9th, 10th, 14th, and 22nd clauses of the Convention of 1866, Article VIII.—The Contract shall specify :—

“ 1st.—The place of destination and the length of the engagement.

2nd.—The right of the emigrant to be conveyed back to his own country, and the sum which shall be paid at the expiration of his contract to cover the expense of his voyage home, and that of his family, should they accompany him.

3rd.—The number of working days in the year and the length of each day's work.

4th.—The wages, rations, clothing, and other advantages promised to the emigrant.

5th.—Gratuitous medical attendance.

6th.—The sum which the emigrant agrees to set aside out of his monthly wages for the benefit

of persons to be named by him, should he desire to appropriate any sum to such a purpose.

7th.—Copy of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 14th, and 22nd Articles of these regulations.

Any clause which shall purport to render invalid any of the provisions of these regulations is null and void.

Article IX.—The term of such emigrant's engagement shall not exceed five years, at the expiration of which the sum stipulated in the contract shall be paid for him to cover the expense of his return to this country. In the event of his obtaining permission to remain without an engagement in the colony, this sum will be placed in his own hands.

It shall always be at the option of the emigrant to enter into a second engagement of five years, for which he shall be paid a premium equivalent to one-half the cost of his return to China. In such a case the sum destined to cover the expense of his return home shall not be paid until the expiration of his second engagement.

Every emigrant who may become invalided and incapable of working shall be allowed without waiting for the expiration of his contract, to claim before the legal Courts of the colony or territory where he may be, payment on his behalf of the sum destined to cover the expense of his return to China.

Article X.—The emigrant shall in no case be bound to work more than six days out of seven, nor more than nine and a half hours per day. The emigrant shall be free to arrange with his employer the conditions of work by the piece, and of all extra labour undertaken during days and hours set apart for rest. The obligation on holidays to attend to cattle and to do such service

as the necessities of daily life may demand shall not be considered as labour.

Article XIV.—Any sum handed over to the emigrant shall only be regarded in the light of a premium upon his engagement. All advances upon his future wages are formally forbidden, except in the case of their being appropriated to the use of his family ; and the Consul will take especial pains, and provide against their being employed in any other way. Such advance shall not exceed six months' wages, and shall be covered by a stoppage of one dollar per month until the entire debt shall have been paid.

It is absolutely forbidden, whether on a voyage or during the emigrant's stay in the Colony or territory in which he may be employed, to make any advances to him in money or kind, payable after the expiration of his engagement. Any engagement of this nature shall be null and void, and shall give the creditor no power to oppose the return of the emigrant to his country at the time fixed by the contract.

Article XXII.—In the distribution of immigrants as labourers the husband shall not be separated from his wife, nor shall parents be separated from their children under fifteen years of age. No labourer shall be bound to change his employer without his consent, except in the event of the factory or plantation upon which he is employed changing hands.



APPENDIX G.

SPECIMEN OF DUTCH LAND-GRANT.

Wy over de COLONIE en
 Annexes Rivieren van ESSEQUEBO en DEMERARY. Mitsgaders COLLONEL
 over de Militie en Burgerye. onder Octroy van de HOOG MOGENDE HEEREN
 STAATEN GENERAAL Der Vereenigde NEDERLANDEN. En RAADEN.
 VAN POLITIE wegens De EDELE GROOT ACHTBARE HEEREN.
 DEN REPRESENTANT VAN ZYN DOORLUCHTIGE HOOGHEYD
 EN BEWINDHEBBEREN Der Edele Generale Geootroyeerde WEST-INDISCHE
 COMPAGNIE. Ter Vergadering Der THIEVEN.

VERGUNNEN en Permitteren by dezen Aan omme op te neemen en in
 eigendom te Bezitten, zeker stuk Lands, in de Rivieren van

ter lengte van

Roeden. en ter diepte van Roeden. zynde Akkers, mits gehouden
 weezende, het voortz. Land wel te Cultiveeren en te Bepplanten. met zoodanige Plantsoenen
 als ten besten voordeelen zal bevinden te behooren. en Aldaar een Goed sterk Huis te laten
 Bouwen. zonder het voorschreevene Buiten Onze kennisse te moogen Verkoopen of Verallioneeren.
 Behoudende aan Ons ten Faveuren Der EDELE WEST-INDISCHE COMPAGNIE
 het Recht van Preferentie, als meede het Recht om Hout nodig hebbende, aldaar te moogen
 laten kappen. en zal meede niet vermoogen de Vrye Indianen of de alhier komende
 Handelars, eenige Hinder, Belet, of quaade Behandeling te brengen, en door den Land-
 meter de Pertinentheid der Landstreek ter Secretarye dezer Colonie over te brengen.

17

RIO ESSEQUEBO OP'T FORT ZEELANDIA DEN
 TER ORDONNANTIE VAN

TRANSLATION.

We over the Colony and annexed rivers of Essequibo and Demerary, and Colonel of the Militia and Burghers, Licensed by the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Netherlands and Members of the Court of Policy on behalf of the Most Worthy the Representatives of His Most Serene Highness the Directors of the Honourable the General Chartered West India Company in the Council of Ten :

Do hereby grant and permit to to take and have in possession a certain piece of land situate in the River of having a façade of roods and a depth of roods, being acres.—Provided however that the said shall be bound to properly cultivate and plant the aforesaid piece of land with such cultivation as shall be found most advantageous and to have there built a good and substantial house, and shall not sell or alienate the aforesaid piece of land without our knowledge, reserving to ourselves in favour of the Honourable the West India Company the right of preference, also the right, in case wood should be required, of having it cut there, and further that the said shall not molest, prevent or ill-treat in any manner or way whatsoever the free Indians or the Traders coming here, and shall report on the fertility of the soil through the Surveyor at the Secretary's Office of this Colony.

Essequibo River at the Fort Zeelandia the 17.....

By Command

(Sgd.).....

Translated by me

(Sgd.) J. H. E. VANIER

Official Translator.

TABLES.

TABLE I
Statistics of Chinese Immigration into British Gulana.

Year of Arrival.	Name of Ship.	Tons.	Whence.	Date of Departure.	Date of arrival at Georgetown.	Duration of voyage in days.	Number Actually Embarked.				Number Disembarked at Georgetown.				Died or lost during voyage.	Percentage of deaths during voyage from China.	
							Number Actually Embarked.				Number Disembarked at Georgetown.						
							Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.	Men.	Women.			Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.
1852	Glentanner	615	Amoy	1. 9.52	12.1.53	131.595	—	—	—	—	305.262	—	—	—	262	43	10.8
"	Lord Elgin	331	"	23. 7.52	17.1.53	177.115	—	39	—	—	154.57	—	28	—	85	69	44.8
1853	Samuel Boddington	689	"	25.11.52	4.3.53	98.398	—	44	—	—	372.660	—	40	—	300	52	14.7
"	Royal George	608	Hongkong	8.12.58	29.3.59	116.300	—	—	—	—	300.251	—	—	—	251	49	19.5
1854	General Wyndham	805	"	15. 2.59	13.5.59	81.461	—	—	—	—	461.450	—	—	—	450	11	2.4
"	Whirlwind	978	"	24.12.59	11.3.60	78.301	56	7	4	11	382.207	56	7	4	1372	—	—
"	Dora	854	"	9. 1.60	8.4.60	84.207	120	31	16	11	385.204	117	31	16	12.883	4	1.03
"	Red Riding Hood	720	Canton	22. 1.60	8.4.60	75.298	12	4	—	—	311.297	10	4	—	311	3	.95
"	Mirerva	829	Hongkong	9. 2.60	23.5.60	96.233	65	8	2	2	2.310.230	65	8	2	2.307	3	.95
"	Thos. Mitchell	578	Canton	23. 2.60	9.6.60	107.252	—	—	—	—	252.252	—	—	—	252	—	—
"	Norwood	849	Hongkong	10. 3.60	23.7.60	135.239	52	3	4	3	331.259	48	3	4	3.317	14	4.22
1861	Sebastopol	938	Canton	23.12.60	28.3.61	89.283	45	4	1	—	333.282	42	4	1	329	4	1.20
"	Red Riding Hood	720	"	19. 1.61	13.4.61	84.259	48	3	—	—	4.314.256	47	3	—	4.310	4	1.27
"	Claramont	634	"	1. 1.61	13.4.61	103.188	87	6	1	—	282.188	86	6	1	1.282	1	.35
"	aldanba	1357	Hongkong	4. 2.61	4.5.61	86.128	69	3	—	—	500.421	67	3	—	1.492	9	1.80
"	Chapman	750	Canton	27. 2.61	9.6.61	102.238	57	6	1	—	2.303.230	53	6	1	1.290	13	4.29
"	Mystery	1074	Hongkong	3. 3.61	9.6.61	97.316	41	1	1	—	1.360.295	39	1	1	1.337	23	6.39
"	Montmorency	630	"	14. 3.61	27.8.61	105.271	18	—	—	—	1.290.265	17	—	—	1.283	7	2.41

1861	See Park	...	836	Canton	18. 3.81. 7. 7.61	112 236	52	4	1	—	293 221	40	2	—	—	263	30	10.23
"	Whirlwind	...	977	Hongkong	9. 4.61.31. 7.61	114 307	31	1	4	—	2365 298	47	1	4	—	2 352	13	3.56
"	Lancashire Witch	...	1386	Hongkong	26. 3.61. 5. 8.61	131 425	28	6	—	—	2461 398	26	6	—	—	3 433	29	6.29
1863	Agra	...	714	Canton	26.11.61.15. 2.62	80 249	36	2	—	—	287 249	35	2	—	—	1 287	1	3.4
"	Earl of Windsor	...	738	Hongkong	4.12.61.17. 3.62	104 178	141	2	3	—	1328 172	124	2	2	—	3 3.3	24	7.38
"	Red Riding Hood	...	720	Canton	19. 1.62.11. 4.62	80 271	47	7	1	—	328 2.0	45	7	1	—	1 324	8	1.92
"	Persia	...	1633	Hongkong	19. 3.62.10. 7.62	112 405	112	9	5	—	531 404	107	9	5	—	525	6	1.62
"	Lady Elma Bruce	...	920	Amoy and Swatow	29. 4.62.15. 8.62	107 349	33	3	—	—	383 349	32	3	—	—	384	1	2.6
"	Sir George Seymour	...	730	Hongkong, Canton & Swatow	1. 4.62.20. 8.62	142 281	38	5	—	—	324 256	29	4	—	—	289	35	10.80
1864	Genghis Khan	...	1208	do.	2. 5.62.20. 8.62	110 406	97	4	2	—	3512 385	86	4	2	—	3 480	32	6.25
1864	Ganges	...	839	Canton	4. 4.63.29. 6.63	85 283	100	12	4	—	4413 256	92	12	4	—	2 396	17	4.11
1864	Zouave	...	1323	Canton	19.12.63.28. 2.64	70 337	157	15	3	—	5517 336	151	14	1	—	7 509	10	1.93
1865	Brechin Castle	...	537	Canton	18.10.64.26. 1.65	100 187	78	5	—	—	270 186	76	5	—	—	2 289	3	1.11
"	Queen of the East	...	1226	Whampoa	5. 1.65.18. 4.65	103 362	112	14	2	—	490 358	107	13	2	—	1 481	10	2.04
"	Sevilla	...	598	Whampoa	8. 3.65.22. 6.65	106 204	93	14	—	—	1 312 199	91	13	—	—	2 305	8	2.56
"	Arima	...	691	Whampoa	31. 3.65.18. 7.65	109 271	59	13	—	—	343 249	50	12	—	—	3 11	32	10.23
"	Bucton Castle	...	886	Whampoa	30. 4.65.24. 8.65	120 266	74	10	—	—	3 353 252	60	9	—	—	4 325	30	8.49
1866	Light Brigade	...	1214	Amoy	18. 1.66.14. 4.66	86 488	4	—	—	—	198 482	4	—	—	—	1 487	6	1.21
"	Pride of the Ganges	...	641	Whampoa	31. 3.66.31. 7.66	122 259	29	16	1	—	303 256	29	16	1	—	1 302	3	.498
1874	Corona	...	1209	Whampoa	23.12.73.23. 2.74	78 314	40	26	5	—	3 383 313	40	26	5	—	4 388	1	.25
1878	Dartmouth	...	915	Hongkong	24.12.78.17. 3.79	81 437	47	18	5	—	9 516 436	47	18	5	—	9 515	1	.19

1870	1	181	107	8,669	*The Census figure is 6,295, the Census being in April: 6,880 is the Registrar General's figure.				
2		219	60	6,880*	*This is the Registrar General's figure; but it cannot be reconciled either with the preceding or the following figure.				
3		183	63	6,391*	*This is the Registrar General's figure; it cannot be reconciled with the preceding figure, but it does agree with the subsequent figures.				
4		188	6	6,659	*This is the figure in the Registrar General's annual report; it cannot be reconciled with the preceding figure, but it does agree with the subsequent figures.				
5		210	53	6,02					
6		184	30	6,348					
7		244	13	6,102					
8		202	36	5,917*					
9		157	45	6,322					
1880	1	167	45	6,200					
2		168	62	4,719*					
3		141	49	4,382					
4		166	42	4,027					
5		31	25	3,695					
6		35	30	3,474					
7		25	38	3,474					
8		23	29	3,346					
9		32	31	3,176					
1		151	33	3,071					
2		27	34	3,071					
3		31	37	2,899					
4		122	39						
5		101							
6		101							
7		101							
8		101							
9		101							

*The Census figure is 5,234 (M 3,905; F 1,329) that being the total in April when the Census was taken. The figure 4,719 is the population on 1st January as stated in the Registrar General's report.

TABLE II.—Continued.

Vital Statistics of Chinese Population in British Guiana (1853-1913.)

Year	Number of Chinese landed in British Guiana.				Number of Chinese who left B.G.			Number of Deaths.			Number of Births.			Chinese population in B.G.	Remarks.
	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	
1890	1				1	33	14	47	153	29	182	43	32	75	2,746
1	5	1			6	25	10	35	117	31	148	44	55	99	3,651*
2															
3						11	4	15	180	45	225	47	50	97	3,518
4	3				3	16	2	18	125	37	162	43	44	87	3,473
5						31	13	44	117	29	146	15	48	63	3,379
6						28	9	37	140	39	179	52	39	91	3,268
7						31	9	40	74	32	106	48	50	98	3,182
8						15	6	21	87	31	118	35	47	82	3,098
9						15	9	24	129	37	166	40	32	72	2,980
1900	4	3			12	20	9	29	80	33	113	49	42	91	2,943
1						7	1	8	76	24	100	39	40	79	2,919
2						57	10	67	67	19	86	39	35	74	2,840*
						141	18	159	72	19	91	38	40	78	2,668

*The Census gives 3,714 (M. 2,538; F. 1,131); 3,661 is the figure at 1st January after deducting deaths and adding births to April when the Census was taken.

Registrar General's figures are for 30th June in each year and have been adjusted in the last Column to the 1st January.

*There was no Census in this year.

TABLE III.

**Distribution of Chinese Immigrants on
Arrival in British Gulana.**Per Ship *Glentanner* from Amoy on 12th January, 1853.

		M.
Pln. Windsor Forest	...	105
„ Pouderoyen	...	44
„ La Jalousie	...	103
„ Union	...	1
„ Died	...	9
Total	..	262

Per Ship *Lord Elgin* from Amoy on 17th January, 1853.

Pln. Blankenburg	...	83
Died	..	2
Total	...	85

Per Ship *Samuel Boddington* from Amoy on 4th March, 1853.

Pln. Schoon Ord	...	51
„ Stewartville	...	44
„ Anna Regina	...	45
„ Hague	...	39
„ Anna Catherina	..	47
„ Haarlem	...	45
„ Union	...	8
„ Died	..	21
Total	...	300

Per Ship *Royal George* from Hong Kong on 1st April, 1859.

		M.
Pln. La Grange	..	15
„ Haarlem	...	34
„ Windsor Forest	...	36
„ Wales	...	21
„ Belle Vue	...	24
„ Stewartville	...	20
„ Vriesland	...	20
„ Anna Catherina	...	30
„ Leonora	...	29
„ Better Hope	...	2
Unallotted	...	11
Died	...	9
Total	...	251

Per Ship *General Wyndham* from Hong Kong on
* 16th May, 1859.

		M.
Pln. Better Hope	...	66
" Blankenburg	...	22
" La Belle Alliance	...	22
" Land of Plenty	...	22
" Diamond	...	38
" Hampton Court	...	68
" Le Ressouvenir	...	32
" Enmore	...	34
" Chateau Margot	...	22
" Stewartville	...	10
" Enterprise	...	43
" Cove & John	...	22
" Cane Grove	...	38
Unallotted	...	6
Died	...	5
Total	...	450

Per Ship *Whirlwind* from Hong Kong on 11th March, 1860.

	M.	F.
Pln. Anna Regina	14	—
" Chateau Margot	20	1
" Enmore	63	35
" Groenveldt	14	—
" Haarlem	15	8
" Industry	25	4
" La Jalousie	25	3
" Leonora	13	3
" Lusignan	25	—
" Montrose	54	—
" Success (East Coast)	20	—
Windsor Forest	20	—
Unallotted	3	7
Total	311	61 = 372

Per Ship *Dora* from Hong Kong on 4th April, 1860.

	M.	F.
Pln. Eliza & Mary	65	37
" Goldstone Hall	41	23
" Providence (Berbice River)	44	20
" Rose Hall	34	17
" Skeldon	60	41
Died	1	—
Total	245	138 = 383

x.

Per Ship *Red Riding Hood* from Canton on 9th
April, 1860.

	M.	F.	
Pln. Anna Catherina	17	—	
„ La Grange ...	40	—	
„ Le Ressouvenir...	40	—	
„ Peter's Hall ...	94	10	
„ Schoon Ord ...	20	—	
„ Hampton Court...	40	—	
„ La Belle Alliance	25	—	
„ Land of Plenty ...	24	—	
Unallotted ...	1	—	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
Total ...	301	10	= 311
	<hr/>	<hr/>	

Per Ship *Minerva* from Hong Kong on 25th May, 1860.

	M.	F.	
Pln. Chateau Margot	22	4	
„ La Jalousie ...	18	2	
„ Windsor Forest...	16	1	
„ Anna Regina ...	39	16	
„ Columbia ...	27	11	
„ Enterprise ...	27	8	
„ Perseverance ...	37	12	
„ Reliance ...	37	10	
„ Sparta ...	17	3	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
Total ...	240	67	= 307
	<hr/>	<hr/>	

Per Ship *Thomas Mitchell* from Canton on 11th
June, 1860.

	M.	
Pln. Adelphi ...	44	
„ Bath ...	64	
„ Hope & Experiment	69	
„ Reliance ...	45	
„ Smithson's Place	30	
	<hr/>	
Total ...	252	
	<hr/>	

Per Ship *Norwood* from Hong Kong on 23rd July, 1860.

	M.	F.
Pln. Bel Air ...	24	1
" Blankenburg ...	14	6
" Cove & John ...	8	3
" Enterprise ...	20	—
" Greenfield ...	14	11
" Leonora ...	12	2
" Lusignan ...	26	—
" Montrose ...	35	8
" Ogle ...	64	4
" Maryville ...	25	6
" Retrieve ...	14	7
" Unallotted ...	5	5
Died ...	3	—
Total ...	264	53 = 317

Per Ship *Sebastopol* Canton on the 28th March, 1861.

	M.	F.
Pln. Aurora ...	20	3
" Columbia ...	33	7
" Friendship & Sarah ...	21	5
" Hampton Court ...	22	3
" Huis't Dieren ...	20	3
" La Belle Alliance ...	19	1
" Land of Plenty ...	19	1
" Mainstay ...	22	3
" Moorfarm ...	24	1
" Palmyra ...	23	3
" Retrieve ...	25	3
" Sophienburg ...	33	7
" Unallotted ...	4	3
Died ...	—	1
Total ...	285	44 = 329

Per Ship *Red Riding Hood* from Canton on 13th April, 1861.

	M.	F.
Pln. Haags Bosche ...	18	2
" Haarlem ...	25	4
" Caledonia ...	22	3
" Henrietta ...	21	4
" Success (Leguan) ...	21	4
" Eliza & Mary ...	81	14
" Goldstone Hall ...	34	7
" Smithson's Place ...	37	8
" Unallotted ...	3	2
Total ...	262	48 = 310

Per Ship *Claramont* from Hong Kong on 13th April, 1861.

	M.	F.
Pln. Enmore ...	36	18
„ Mon Repos ...	20	10
„ Bank Hall ...	14	6
„ Canefield ...	14	6
„ Endeavour ...	14	6
„ Huis't Dieren ...	14	7
„ Maryville ...	11	5
„ Retrieve ...	13	5
„ Skeldon ...	55	21
Unallotted ...	2	2
Died ...	1	2
	<hr/> 194	<hr/> 88 = 282

Per Ship *Saldanha* from Hong Kong on 4th May, 1861.

	M.	F.
Pln. Anna Catherina	22	4
„ Blankenburg ...	21	3
„ De Kinderen ...	22	4
„ Enmore ...	46	5
„ Groenveldt ...	21	4
„ Haarlem ...	21	4
„ Houston ...	21	4
„ La Jalousie ...	21	4
„ Leonora ...	21	4
„ Malgré Tout ...	26	4
„ Peter's Hall	23	2
„ Pouderoyen ...	19	1
„ Ruimveld ...	21	4
„ Schoon Ord ...	25	5
„ Vive-la-Force ...	22	3
„ Windsor Forest	64	12
Unallotted ...	4	2
Died ...	3	—
	<hr/> 423	<hr/> 69 = 492

xiii.

Per Ship *Chapman* from Canton on 10th June, 1861.

	M.	F.
Pln. Bel Air ...	26	5
„ Better Hope ...	21	6
„ Cumings Lodge ...	20	5
„ Goedverwagting ...	22	5
„ Diamond ...	25	5
„ Industry ...	20	5
„ Montrose ...	20	5
„ Ogle ...	43	7
„ Success (East Coast) ...	21	4
„ Turkeyen ...	19	6
„ Unallotted ...	1	—
Total ...	237	53 = 290

Per Ship *Mystery* from Hong Kong on 11th June, 1861.

	M.	F.
Pln. Annandale ...	21	3
„ Bailie's Hope ..	20	4
„ Bee Hive ...	42	6
„ Cove & John ...	9	1
„ Enmore ...	55	5
„ Enterprise (East Coast) ...	18	1
„ Good Hope ...	20	4
„ Greenfield ...	24	1
„ Helena ...	40	7
„ Lusignan ...	21	3
„ Spring Hall ...	20	4
„ Versailles ...	1	—
„ Houston ...	—	1
„ Unallotted ..	3	1
„ Died ...	1	—
„ In Alms House ...	1	—
Total ...	296	41 = 337

Per Ship *Montmorency* from Hong Kong on 28th June, 1861.

	M.	F.
Pln. Aurora ...	64	6
„ Hamburg & Sophienburg ...	32	2
„ Henrietta (Leguan) ...	35	—
„ Huis't Dieren ...	23	2
„ Success (Leguan) ...	74	6
„ Waterloo ..	35	—
„ Annandale ...	1	—
„ Unallotted ...	2	—
„ In Lunatic Asylum ...	—	1
Total ...	266	17 = 283

xiv.

Per Ship *Sea Park* from Canton on 8th July, 1861.

	M.	F.
Pln. Good Hope ...	23	4
„ La Jalousie ...	21	1
„ Met-en-Meerzorg ...	25	5
„ Mon Repos ...	16	4
„ Versailles ...	30	5
„ Columbia ...	19	5
„ Friendship & Sarah ...	20	5
„ Providence (Berbice) ...	33	6
„ Smythfield ...	33	5
Unallotted ...	1	—
Died ...	2	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total ...	223	40 = 263
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Per Ship *Whirlwind* from Hong Kong on 31st July, 1861.

	M.	F.
Pln. Bel Air ...	20	10
„ Cumings Lodge ...	21	6
„ Farm ...	23	2
„ Diamond ...	23	4
„ Haags Bosche ...	22	3
„ Houston ...	23	3
„ La Jalousie ...	41	4
„ Malgré Tout ...	21	4
„ Peter's Hall ...	23	2
„ Versailles ...	25	—
„ Vive-la-Force ...	23	5
„ Windsor Forest ...	21	4
Unallotted ...	9	4
In Alms House	—	1
In Lunatic Asylum	1	—
Died ...	2	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	298	54
	<hr/>	<hr/>

xv.

Per Ship *Lancashire Witch* from Hong Kong on 5th
August, 1861.

	M.	F.
Pln. Better Hope ...	25	—
„ Blankenburg ...	24	3
„ Goedverwagting ...	24	2
„ Houston ...	23	2
„ Industry ...	23	2
„ Met-en-Meerzorg ...	23	1
„ Mon Repos ...	47	4
„ Montrose ...	24	1
„ Success (East Coast) ...	24	1
„ Versailles ...	24	1
„ Windsor Forest ...	23	1
„ Bank Hall ...	26	2
„ Success (Leguan) ...	35	3
„ Cotton Tree ...	49	2
Unallotted ...	8	3
Died ...	3	—
Total ...	<hr/> 405 <hr/>	<hr/> 28 <hr/> = 433

Per Ship *Agra* from Canton on 15th February, 1862.

	M.	F.
Pln. Better Hope and V'd's Lust ...	17	3
„ Farm ...	27	3
„ Diamond ...	34	6
„ Haags Bosche ...	24	3
„ Houston ...	18	2
„ La Grange ...	32	4
„ Ogle ...	18	2
„ Peter's Hall ...	25	3
„ Ruimveld ...	22	3
„ Schoon Ord ...	34	5
• In Leper Asylum ...	—	1
Died ...	—	1
Total ...	<hr/> 251 <hr/>	<hr/> 36 <hr/> = 287

Per Ship *Earl of Windsor* from Hong Kong on 18th March,

	1862.	M.	F.
Pln. <i>Leonora</i> ...	24	17	
" <i>Anna Regina</i> ...	30	21	
" <i>Friendship & Sarah</i> ...	30	20	
" <i>Hamburg & Sophienburg</i> ...	17	12	
" <i>Hampton Court</i> ...	19	10	
" <i>La Belle Alliance</i> ...	15	8	
" <i>Maryville & Belfield</i> ...	12	12	
" <i>Sparta</i> ...	21	20	
Unallotted ...	2	6	
In Lunatic Asylum ...	—	1	
Died ...	4	2	
Total ...	174	129	= 303

Per Ship *Red Riding Hood* from Canton on 11th April, 1862.

	M.	F.
Pln. <i>Met-en-Meerzorg</i> ...	44	6
" <i>Eliza & Mary</i> ...	23	3
" <i>Friends</i> ...	36	4
" <i>Mara</i> ...	51	11
" <i>Ma Retraite</i> ...	55	10
" <i>Skeldon</i> ...	22	6
" <i>Smythfield</i> ...	45	6
Unallotted ...	1	
Died ...	—	1
Total ...	277	47 = 324

Per Ship *Persia* from Hong Kong on 10th July, 1862.

	M.	F.
Pln. <i>Cane Grove</i> ...	40	10
" <i>Cove & John</i> ...	1	—
" <i>Good Hope</i> ...	20	5
" <i>Diamond</i> ...	27	12
" <i>Haags Bosche</i> ...	28	13
" <i>Herstelling</i> ...	21	2
" <i>La Grange</i> ...	25	6
" <i>Spring Hall</i> ...	22	3
" <i>Aurora</i> ...	40	11
" <i>Huis't Dieren</i> ...	22	8
" <i>Land of Plenty</i> ...	19	6
" <i>Moorfarm</i> ...	42	10
" <i>Windsor Forest</i> ...	25	2
" <i>Zeelandia</i> ...	79	22
In Alms House ...	—	1
In Leper Asylum ...	2	1
Total ...	413	112 = 525

Per Ship *Lady Elma Bruce* from Amoy on 15th August,
1862.

	M.	F.
Pln. Annandale ...	47	2
„ Bee Hive ...	20	5
„ Better Hope ...	20	—
„ Chateau Margot ...	25	—
„ Enmore ...	23	2
„ Greenfield ...	25	5
„ Houston ...	48	7
„ La Bonne Intention ...	28	2
„ Le Ressouvenir ...	23	2
„ Montrose ...	22	3
„ Ogle ...	21	4
„ Success (East Coast) ...	50	—
Total ...	<u>352</u>	<u>32</u> = 384

Per Ship *Sir George Seymour* from Hong Kong on 20th
August, 1862.

	M.	F.
Pln. Annandale ...	22	3
„ Bel Air ...	57	—
„ Better Hope ...	18	4
„ Industry ...	46	2
„ La Bonne Intention ...	27	3
„ Montrose ...	20	5
„ Ogle ...	20	4
„ Turkeyen ...	20	3
„ Zeelugt ...	28	3
In Alms House	—	1
Died	2	1
	<u>260</u>	<u>29</u> = 289

xviii.

Per Ship *Genghis Khan* from Hong Kong on 20th August,
1862.

	M.	F.
Pln. Anna Catherina	21	4
„ Blankenburg ...	20	7
„ Cornelia Ida ...	21	4
„ De Kinderen ...	22	3
„ Goedverwagting	35	3
„ Haarlem ...	41	9
„ Hague ...	32	10
„ La Jalousie ...	23	7
„ La Grange ...	24	8
„ Leonora ...	7	3
„ Met-en-Meerzorg	42	8
„ Nouvelle Flanders	38	8
„ Stewartville ...	47	15
Unallotted ...	3	3
In Alms House...	1	1
In Leper Asylum	1	1
Died ...	6	2
Total ...	384	96 = 480

Per Ship *Ganges* from Canton on 29th June, 1863.

	M.	F.
Pln. Anna Catherina	19	6
„ Better Hope ...	36	18
„ De Kinderen ...	18	5
„ Farm ...	15	6
„ Haarlem ...	21	4
„ Houston ...	22	5
„ Leonora ...	19	6
„ Peter's Hall ...	24	7
„ Success (East Coast)	16	4
„ Windsor Forest	15	5
„ La Belle Alliance	20	5
„ Albion ...	17	6
„ Hope & Experiment	16	4
„ Skeldon ...	21	8
„ Smythfield ...	16	5
Unallotted ...	1	1
Died ...	2	3
Total ...	298	98 = 396

Per Ship *Zouave* from Whampoa on 29th February, 1864.

	M.	F.
Pln. Anna Catherina	17	7
" Bee Hive ...	15	7
" Blankenburg ...	14	6
" Canefield (Berbice)	27	14
" Chateau Margot	15	6
" De Kinderen ...	15	6
" Diamond ...	18	6
" Haarlem ...	17	7
" Hampton Court	15	8
" Houston ...	15	6
" La Belle Alliance	14	7
" La Grange ...	21	10
" Land of Plenty	14	7
" Leonora ...	35	14
" Nouvelle Flanders	14	6
" Ogle ...	14	6
" Peter's Hall ...	20	9
" Windsor Forest	35	14
" Zeelandia ...	18	7
" In Orphan Asylum	—	1
Died ...	1	1
Total ...	354	155 = 509

Per Ship *Brechin Castle* from Canton on 26th January, 1865.

	M.	F.
Pln. Bel Air ...	23	7
" Belle Vue ...	13	7
" Cumings Lodge	13	8
" Farm ...	15	5
" Diamond ...	14	5
" Haarlem ...	24	6
" Houston ...	15	7
" La Bonne Mère	16	6
" Malgré Tout ...	19	6
" Peter's Hall ...	14	7
" Ruinveld ...	11	5
" Wales ...	15	6
Died ...	—	2
Total ...	192	77 = 269

xx.

Per Ship *Queen of the East* from Whampoa on 18th April, 1865.

	M.	F.
Pln. Anna Catherina	20	6
„ Bee Hive ...	12	4
„ Bel Air ...	16	4
„ Blankenburg ...	14	3
„ Cornelia Ida ...	11	3
„ De Kinderen ...	16	5
„ Eliza & Mary ...	18	5
„ Friends ...	18	5
„ Haarlem ...	20	5
„ Hampton Court	19	5
„ Hope & Experiment	11	4
„ Leonora ...	20	6
„ Le Ressouvenir	16	5
„ Malgré Tout ...	13	3
„ Melville ...	13	3
„ Providence (Berbice)	16	4
„ Skeldon ...	18	7
„ Smythfield ...	21	6
„ Spring Hall ...	12	4
„ Success (East Coast)	12	4
„ Uitvlugt ...	15	5
„ Versailles ...	16	4
„ Vergenœgen ...	12	4
„ Zeelugt ...	12	4
Unallotted ...	2	—
Total ...	373	108

Per Ship *Sevilla* from Whampoa on 22nd June, 1865.

	M.	F.
Pln. Adelphi ...	14	7
„ La Grange ...	11	4
„ La Belle Alliance	16	5
„ La Jalousie ...	18	8
„ Met-en-Meerzorg	21	9
„ Moorfarm ...	22	12
„ Nouvelle Flanders	11	4
„ Port Mourant ...	21	9
„ Schoon Ord ...	17	8
„ Success (Leguan)	21	10
„ Windsor Forest	22	9
„ Zorg ...	18	8
Total ...	212	93

305

xxi.

Per Ship *Arima* from Whampoa on 11th July, 1865.

	M.	F.
Pln. Albion ...	16	4
" Bel Air ...	21	3
" Cotton Tree ...	19	5
" Farm ...	14	2
" Goedverwagting	22	4
" Greenfield ...	22	3
" Houston ...	17	3
" Non Pareil ..	21	4
" Schoon Ord ...	24	4
" Success (East Coast)	25	6
" Vergenoegen ...	17	2
" Zeelandia ...	25	4
" Diamond ..	13	2
In Orphan Asylum	1	-
Died ...	4	4
Total ...	261	50 = 311

Per Ship *Buckton Castle* from Whampoa on 28th August, 1865.

	M.	F.
Pln. Bel Air ..	22	4
" Cane Grove ..	18	2
" Everton ...	15	5
" Farm ...	18	7
" Hoff-Van-Holland	17	3
" Hope & Experiment	13	2
" La Jalousie ...	20	5
" Leonora ...	24	6
" Ogle ...	16	4
" Success (East Coast)	21	3
" Windsor Forest	24	5
" Zeelugt ...	26	7
" Peter's Hall ...	25	6
Unallotted ...	1	-
Died ...	2	4
Total	262	63 = 325

Per Ship *Light Brigade* from Amoy on 14th April, 1866.

	M.	F.
Pln. Zeelugt ..	20	—
„ La Jalousie ...	19	1
„ Uitvlugt ..	25	—
„ Leonora ..	25	—
„ Blankenburg ...	20	—
„ Haarlem ...	24	—
„ Belle Vue ..	19	—
„ Wales ...	20	—
„ Turkeyen ..	20	—
„ Cuming's Lodge	20	—
„ Success (East Coast)	20	—
„ Lusignan ...	20	—
„ Enmore ..	40	—
„ Cove & John	20	—
„ La Belle Alliance	20	—
„ Land of Plenty	19	1
„ Columbia ...	19	1
„ Zorg ...	19	—
„ Success (Leguan)	25	—
„ Henrietta ..	20	—
„ Port Mourant ...	19	—
„ Skeldon	23	1
„ In Alms House	2	—
„ Died ...	4	—
Total ...	482	5 = 487

Per Ship *Pride of the Ganges* from Whampoa on 31st
July, 1866.

	M.	F.
Pln. Port Mourant ...	23	3
„ Zeelandia ...	18	2
„ Enterprise ...	21	4
„ Hope & Experiment	24	2
„ Mara ...	24	1
„ Ma Retraite ...	23	3
„ Friends ...	26	3
„ Smythfield ...	19	2
„ Providence		
(Berbice River)	16	6
„ Adelphi ...	23	—
„ Albion ...	30	—
„ Eliza & Mary ...	24	3
„ In Alms House	—	1
„ Died ...	1	—
Total ...	272	30 = 302

Per Ship *Corona* from Hong Kong on 2nd March, 1874.

	M.	F.
Pln. Tuschen ...	8	3
„ Anna Catherina ...	9	6
„ La Jalousie ...	8	2
„ Windsor Forest ...	4	—
„ Haarlem ...	4	—
„ Schoon Ord ...	6	6
„ La Grange ...	5	2
„ Vive-la-Force ...	5	1
„ Diamond ...	10	3
„ Farm ...	4	—
„ Providence (Dem. River) ...	9	1
„ Peter's Hall ...	4	2
„ Bel Air ...	16	—
„ Success (East Coast) ...	4	—
„ La Bonne Intention ...	12	—
„ Mon Repos ...	15	—
„ Lusignan ...	17	6
„ Non Pareil ...	14	—
„ Enterprise ...	5	—
„ Cove & John ...	5	—
„ Greenfield ...	4	—
„ Hope ...	8	1
„ Melville ...	4	—
„ Maryville ...	9	1
„ Endeavour ...	3	—
„ Good Success ...	6	2
„ Friendship & Sarah ...	2	—
„ Hamburg ...	7	—
„ Hampton Court ...	4	—
„ Lima ...	10	3
„ Bel Air ...	1	—
„ Anna Regina ...	12	6
„ Reliance ...	6	—
„ Mainstay ...	6	1
„ Golden Fleece ...	14	—
„ Johanna Cecilia ...	4	—
„ Aurora ...	7	—
„ Spring Garden ...	3	—
„ Bath ...	14	—
„ Mara ...	4	—
„ Ma Retraite ...	4	—
„ Friends ...	4	—
„ Highbury ...	5	—

Carried forward

305

46

xxiv.

Per Ship *Corona* from Hong Kong on 2nd March,
1874. *Continued.*

	M.	F.
<i>Brought forward</i>	305	46
„ <i>Adelphi</i> ..	8	—
„ <i>Rose Hall</i> .	6	1
„ <i>Albion</i> ...	7	—
„ <i>Eliza & Mary</i>	7	—
„ <i>Skeldon</i> ...	7	—
„ <i>Unallotted</i> ..	1	—
	—	—
Total	341	47 = 388

Per Ship *Dartmouth* from Hong Kong on 17th March, 1879 :
allotment shown in detail in table given in chapter xi.

Table IV.

Essequibo Mainland.	Essequibo Islands.	West Coast, Demerara.	Demerara River.	East Coast, Demerara.	West Coast, Berbice.	Berbice River.	East Coast, Berbice.	Cont'ne River.
Aurora ♦	Bankhall	Anna	Belle Vue	Annandale	Bath	Blairmont	Adelphi	Eliza &
Anna Regina	Caletonia	Catherina	Diamond	Bef Air	Cotton Tree	Everton	Albion	Mary
Better Hope	Endeavour	Blanken-	Farm	Bee Hive	Hope &	Friends	Canchfield	Skeldon
Coffee Grove ♦	Friendship	burg Haags		ane Grove	Experiment	Highbury	Goldstone	
Columbia	& Sarah	Cornelia	Bosche	Chateau Margot		Ma	Port	Hall
Golden Fleece	Hamburg	Ida Haalein	ing	ove & John		Retraite		
Hampton Court	Maryville	Herstel-	ling	Cuming's Lodge		Provi-		
Henrietta	Moorfarm	Kinderen	ing	Enterprise		dence		
Hoff van Holland	Palmyra	Groen-	ing	Enmore		field		
Huis't Dieren	Retrieve	veldt	La Grange	Goodverwagting				
Johanna Cecilia	Sophienburg	Hague	Malgre	Good Hope				
La Belle Alliance	Success	La	Tout Greenfield					
Land of Plenty	Waterloo	Jalousie	Poud-	Helena				
Lima	Zeelandia	Leonora	eroyen	Hope				
Mainstay		Met-en-	Peter's	Industry				
Union		Meerzorg	Hall	Le Ressouvenir				
Perseverance		Nouvelle	Ruimveld	La Bonne Int'n				
Richmond		Flanders	School	La Bonne Mere				
Sparta		Stewart-	Ord	Lusignan				
Spring Garden		ville	Versailles	Melville				
Windsor Castle		Tuschen	Vive-la-	Montrose				
Zorg		Uitvlugt	Force	Mou Repos				
		Vergenen-	Wales	Non Pareil				
		Windsor	Vriesland	Ogle				
		Forest	Spring Hall	Success				
		Zeelugt	Turkeyen					

Red Riding Hood	1861	282	48	21	4	43	7	...	...	43	6	...	...	...	...	71	15	81	14	3	2	259	46	3 Deaths.
Claramont	"	194	88	14	7	66	28	...	...	178	27	56	28	...	...	...	...	55	21	2	2	191	84	3 do.
Saidanha	"	423	63	...	...	...	...	192	35	...	...	46	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	2	416	67	3 do.
Chapman	"	237	53	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	5	211	48	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	236	33	1 do.
Mystery	"	286	41	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	291	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1	291	40	1 do.; 1 Alms House.
Montmorency	"	266	17	87	8	176	8	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	264	16	1 Lunatic Asylum.
Sea Park	"	223	40	19	5	20	5	46	6	30	5	39	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	220	40	2 Deaths.
Whirlwind	"	298	54	...	...	...	...	41	4	204	27	41	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	4	286	47	4 do.; 1 Lunatic Asylum; 1 Alms House.
Lancashire																								
Witch	"	405	28	...	...	61	5	70	5	47	3	167	10	40	2	...	...	...	...	8	3	394	25	3 Deaths.
Agra	1862	251	36	...	...	...	...	...	...	216	29	35	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	251	34	1 do.; 1 Leper Asylum.
Earl of Windsor	"	174	129	85	59	59	41	24	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	6	168	120	6 Deaths; 1 Lunatic Asylum.
Red Riding Hood	"	277	47	...	...	...	...	44	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	1	276	46	1 Death.
Persia	"	413	112	81	25	121	32	25	2	101	33	83	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	411	110	1 Alms House; 3 Leper Asylum.
Lady Elm a	"	352	32	...	...	...	...	...	...	48	7	304	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	352	32	...
Bruce	"	260	29	...	...	...	...	28	3	...	...	230	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	258	27	8 Deaths; 1 Alms House.
Sir George Seymour	"	384	96	...	...	...	...	273	63	65	17	35	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	373	89	8 Deaths; 2 Alms House; 2 Lep. Asy.
Genghis Khan	"	298	98	20	5	...	...	92	2	61	18	52	22	16	4	...	...	...	...	8	1	295	94	5 Deaths.
Ganges	1863	354	155	42	23	18	7	147	60	74	31	45	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	353	153	2 do.; 1 Orphan Asylum.
Zouave	1864																							
Brechin Castle	1865	192	77	...	...	...	...	24	6	116	48	52	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	192	75	2 Deaths.

TABLE V.—Continued.

Table of Distribution of Chinese Immigrants on Arrival in British Guiana.

Ship by which Brought.	Year of Arrival.	DISTRICTS AMONG WHICH DISTRIBUTED.																								REMARKS.
		Total landed From Ship.		Essequibo Mainland.		Essequibo Islands.		West Coast Demerara.		Demerara River.		East Coast Demerara.		West Coast Berbice.		Berbice River.		East Coast Berbice.		Corentyne River.		Unallotted.		Total Allotted to Estates.		
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Queen of the East	1865	373	108	19	5	140	41	29	7	81	24	11	4	34	...	21	6	36	2	2	...	371	108	Deaths; 1 Orphan Asylum.
Sevilla	"	212	93	84	13	43	23	72	30	28	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	35	16	...	...	...	...	212	93
Arina	"	261	50	...	...	25	4	17	2	68	11	111	20	19	...	...	...	16	4	...	...	...	...	256	46
Buckton Castle	"	262	63	17	3	94	23	43	13	77	13	13	2	15	5	1	...	259	5	Deaths.
Light Brigade	1868	482	5	77	2	45	...	133	1	29	...	140	...	...	...	...	...	19	...	23	2	...	...	476	54
Pride of the Ganges	"	272	30	18	2	45	6	8	13	5	5	24	3	271	29	1 Death; 1 Alms House.
Corona	1874	341	47	66	10	27	3	34	1	45	15	103	7	14	...	17	...	21	1	14	...	...	...	340	47
Dartmouth	1878	458	57	40	14	31	4	54	3	81	21	152	14	1	...	458	56	1 Committed on Arrival.
Total	...	11,406	2,075	1,834	256	945	211	2,295	375	1,985	345	3,118	446	255	17	374	78	565	123	424	147	74	33	11,295	1,998		Died, &c., 135.

Table VI.

Recapitulation of Arrivals and Distribution of Chinese Immigrants.

Arrivals.		District.	Allotted.		Un-allotted.		Deaths, &c.
M.	F.		M.	F.	M.	F.	
11,466	2,075	Essequibo Mainland...	1,334	256			
		Essequibo Islands ...	945	211			
		West Coast, Demerara	2,295	375			
		Demerara River ...	1,985	345			
		East Coast, Demerara	3,118	446			
		West Coast, Berbice ...	225	17			
		Berbice River	374	78			
		East Coast, Berbice ...	565	123			
		Corentyne River ...	424	147			
11,466	2,075		11,295	1,998	74	39	135
13,541			13,293		113		
		Total Allotted ...	13,293				
		„ Unallotted ...	113				
		„ Deaths, &c...	135				
		TOTAL ...	13,541				

